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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 436

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8 July 1983

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

NORDIC COUNTRIES PROPOSE STRENGTHENING OF UN

OW220854 Beijing XINHUA in English 0823 GMT 22 Jun 83

[Text] United Nations, 21 Jun (XINHUA)--The five Nordic countries have jointly proposed measures for strengthening the United Nations, according to a UN document released here today.

The proposed measures, contained in a letter addressed to the UN secretary-general by the representatives of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden to the United Nations, include, among other things, the strengthening of the role of the Security Council, the secretary-general and UN peace-keeping operations.

According to the letter, the Nordic governments agreed that "the efficiency of the Security Council should be improved." They suggest that the council develop procedures for initiating action in an early stage of conflicts to prevent the use of force and that periodic meetings of the council in accordance with the charter be seriously considered.

"Relations of trust and cooperation between the Security Council and the secretary-general are of crucial importance for the ability of the United Nations to prevent or to solve conflicts," they noted. They stressed, "The secretary-general should be given all possible support in his endeavors to make full use of the role assigned to him by the charter in this field."

They expressed their willingness to assist the establishment of units and training of personnel for UN peace-keeping operations.

The initiative is taken by the five Nordic countries in response to the call for the strengthening of the United Nations made by Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in his annual report to the 37th session of the UN General Assembly.

CSO: 4000/162

GENERAL

DEVELOPING NATIONS DEMAND MORE AID AT UNCTAD

OW251130 Beijing XINHUA in English 1111 GMT 25 Jun 83

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jun (XINHUA)--Representatives of the developing countries to the 6th session of the UN conference on trade and development have demanded an increase in official development assistance and multilateral assistance and a reform of the unreasonable and inequitable international monetary system. But nearly all their demands have been turned down by the developed countries.

Owing to the developed countries' shifting of the economic crisis on to them, the developing countries' trade terms in the past few years have been declining and they have accumulated huge deficits in the balance of international payments. This, in addition to the reducing official development assistance, the highest ever interest rate on borrowings from banks and the great fluctuation of the exchange rates of Western currencies, has landed many developing countries in serious financial difficulties and made them unable even to repay their debts.

As regard to official development assistance, the second and third 10-year international development program of the United Nations stipulated that the net value of each developed country's official development assistance to developing countries should account for 0.7 percent of its gross national product, and this target should be attained in 1983. But in 1982, only Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands overfulfilled this target, while the other developed countries only fulfilled half of the stipulated assistance.

Therefore, the developing countries are now demanding that all the developed countries attain this target before 1985, or at the latest, no later than the second half of this ten-year program. And their official development assistance to the least developed countries should account for 0.15 percent of their GNP by 1985.

Most of the developed countries, with the exception of a few major ones, accepted these targets but disagreed with the time limits. They stressed that the Soviet Union and other developed East European countries should also shoulder such obligations, and those developing countries capable of doing so should also provide assistance.

The root-cause of the payments crisis of the developing countries lies in the inequitable international economic order. The payments crisis also shows that the current international financial and monetary system is no longer suitable to the new situation and the needs for development of the developing countries.

At the 6th UNCTAD session, the representatives of developing countries strongly demanded that the international agencies concerned and the developed countries take urgent measures to help the developing countries overcome the payments crisis, and start immediately to reform the structure of the international monetary system.

They also demanded a stable exchange rate, lower interest rate, more official development and multilateral assistance, and a bigger share for the developing countries in the International Monetary Fund. They also demanded improvements in loan conditions and strengthening of their voting rights in the IMF.

However, the developed countries have turned down all these demands of the developing countries on the IMF.

The developing countries also demanded immediate negotiations on the restructuring of the international monetary system, but were refused by the developed countries.

A big difference also exists on the question of how to settle the debts of the developing countries.

CSO: 4000/162

GENERAL

MUGABE STRESSES SOUTH-SOUTH TIES AT UNCTAD

OW171926 Beijing XINHUA in English 1838 GMT 17 Jun 83

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jun (XINHUA)--"Developing countries do or could promote global interdependence by strengthening their economies through South-South co-operation," noted Robert Mugabe, prime minister of Zimbabwe, here today.

He told a plenary meeting of UNCTAD VI, "we in the South are not sitting idly by, waiting for a 'Messianic' recovery of the North, in the hope that this will find its way down to us through its 'trickle-down effect'. We do recognize first and foremost that we are our own liberators."

He said, "All we ask for from the North is interdependence on the basis of sovereign equality and the establishment of a more equitable international environment promotive of sustained development and our overall national efforts." "Through out commitment to self-reliance," he said, "we are consolidating our efforts for South-South co-operation." "The co-operation among developing countries does not and could not preclude or replace the development of North-South relations," he added.

CSO: 4000/162

GENERAL

'RIGID' DEVELOPED STATES CRITICIZED AT UNCTAD

OW230921 Beijing XINHUA in English 0825 GMT 23 Jun 83

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun (XINHUA)--The Group of 77 made its strongest reaction to criticize the developed countries for this "most rigid attitude" on substantive issues at today's meeting of the United National Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

The group also expressed its "deep concern and sense of deep disappointment for the lack of progress" in the work of the conference.

Speaking at a plenary meeting called this afternoon at the request of the Group of 77, the group's chairman A. S. Osman of Somalia said, "A grim picture emerges after almost three weeks of intensive work."

"Not only is there no progress on any of the substantive issues of vital interest to the developing countries but also there is an attempt to go back on the past commitments and impose parallel and counter obligations on us by ignoring our development problems," he added.

He said, "The present situation is so serious that, if no immediate solution is found and the very structure of the present system is not reconsidered for the immediate future, unacceptable conditions of stagnation could become common place; this would not only be an injustice, but would in its turn affect the whole system of international economic relations and worse still, the social peace we all desire through an equitable programme of recovery and development."

He reiterated that the current international economic situation cannot be tackled without recovery measures associated with an integrated programme for development.

Osman then put forth "the minimum objectives" the Group of 77 wished to achieve from the conference. These objectives are:

a) Facilitate an increase in the flows of resources at acceptable terms and conditions to the developing countries, including substantial injection of short term liquidity in their economies with a view to enabling them to put their detailed economies back on the track;

- b) Provide increased access in the markets of the developed countries for our exports;
- c) Initiate measures to prevent the repetition of our experience during the last two years when the commodity prices virtually collapsed upsetting our development programmes and prospects;
- d) In view of the very clear demonstration, brought about by the present crisis of the limitations of international economic institutions, set in motion a process for their adaptation and evolution in the right direction;
- e) Take initial steps for dealing with the existing structural rigidities in the world economy and adopting structural adjustment programmes particularly in sectors where protectionism against imports from developing countries have been followed over many years in the past.

"While negotiating," he said, "we will continue to be inspired by the Buenos Aires spirit of dialogue, consensus and understanding."

In his statement the spokesman of the group of Western countries, Martin Huslid of Norway, said that it was too early now to predict the outcome of the conference as a failure. He said that it would be "unrealistic" to try to resolve all the issues during the conference as contained in the Buenos Aires platform. There was need for flexibility on both sides, he said.

CSO: 4000/162

GENERAL

UNCTAD GENERAL DEBATE ENDS IN BELGRADE

OW182132 Beijing XINHUA in English 1414 GMT 18 Jun 83

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jun (XINHUA)--The 12-day general debate of the sixth session of the United Nations conference on trade and development (UNCTAD VI) today ended in a "constructive spirit" and a "positive atmosphere."

This was described by the conference President Lazar Mojsov, Yugoslav foreign minister.

However, conference sources were not very optimistic about the results to be obtained in the remaining phase of the conference, especially over such vital issues as the promotion of development of the developing countries and the revitalization of world economy.

Speaking at the final plenary meeting of the general debate this morning, the chairman of the Group of 77, Abdillahi Said Osman of Somali, expressed concern at the "lack of progress" in the negotiations on substantive issues in the negotiating committees of the conference. "So far our work has not yielded any substantial concrete results," he stressed.

"We are looking forward to a more productive dialogue and negotiations in the second half of this conference," he said. "Let us go from here with a conviction based on concrete results that international cooperation is a growing reality and not a quagmire of platitudes."

The chairman of the Group of 77 reaffirmed the group's "spirit of cooperation and international solidarity" as contained in the Buenos Aires declaration and its "determination to work with all its vigor toward overcoming the world economic crisis." He called on the industrial countries to "join in building, in a climate of mutual confidence, a balanced and equitable system of international economic cooperation."

CSO: 4000/162

GENERAL

SFRY, ZIMBABWE LEADERS MEET IN BELGRADE

OW180457 Beijing XINHUA in English 0316 GMT 18 Jun 83

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jun (XINHUA)--Yugoslav President Mika Spiljak said today "out times demand the establishment of new and rational political and economic relations."

The president of presidency of Yugoslavia made the statement when meeting with visiting Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe who arrived here yesterday for a two-day visit and for the 6th session of United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held here from June 4 to [words indistinct]. An important forum on international trade issues, had an [as received] central theme in its present session on the replacement of the existing unjust and inequitable international economic relations with a new international economic order.

Yugoslavia favors the establishment of a new world economic order and is a victim of the current worldwide economic slump. Its foreign debt ran to 19 billion U.S. dollars last year.

The president said that in today's world no one issue can be isolated and solve on its own. The African issues are part of the world relations, he added.

Mugabe briefed the Yugoslav president on the outcome of the 19th summit of the Organization of African Unity held in Ethiopia from June 8 to 12.

CSO: 4000/162

GENERAL

0AU SUMMIT UNITY MAY HELP SOLVE AREA DISPUTES

HK160242 Beijing CHINA DAILY English 16 Jun 83 p 4

[By CHINA DAILY commentator: "African Unity"]

[Text] The Organization of African Unity (OAU) concluded its 19th summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on Sunday after adopting a series of important resolutions on African and Middle East problems.

We offer our very warm and sincere congratulations to the 500 million Africans on the success of the summit, at which virtually all member states were represented, and most of them by heads of state or government.

We are happy that the OAU, founded 20 years ago to press for decolonization, managed to surmount a crisis through patient consultation, and to speak with one voice again for the great continent.

The twice delayed summit was finally made possible by the voluntary absence of a delegate from Western Sahara. It may be recalled that the summit had failed to open as originally scheduled in Tripoli, Libya last August for lack of a quorum because of a sharp dispute over Western Sahara. A second attempt last November again collapsed because of a dispute over Chad's representation.

Blocks Removed

The summit opened last Wednesday night only after last minute efforts removed the major blocks over Western Sahara and Chad. By unanimous vote, Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia was elected the new chairman.

A summit resolution on the Western Sahara problem asked the two parties in dispute--the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Independence Movement--to arrange a ceasefire through direct negotiation so as to create conditions for a referendum on self-determination by the people of Western Sahara.

On Chad, the summit unanimously recognized the government of Hussein Habre as the sole legal government. The summit also asked both Libya and Chad to refrain from taking any action that might worsen the present situation, and cooperate with a special OAU committee so as to make its mediation effort a success.

On Namibia, a summit resolution condemned South African racists for their continued obstruction to Namibian independence and for their refusal to implement related resolutions of the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly. The summit resolution also opposed any linkage between the solution of the Namibian problem and that of Cuban troops in Angola.

Another resolution condemned the economic embargo imposed by the South African authorities against Lesotho.

The summit also voiced strong condemnation against Israel's expansionism and racism and expressed strong support to the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people to recover their lost territory and deprived rights. It also supported the Arab peace plan adopted at Fez in 1982.

#### Common Task

As part of the Third World, China considers that the common task confronting the African and other Third World countries is, first and foremost, to defend their national independence and state sovereignty and actively develop their national economies so that they can back up political independence with economic independence.

China is deeply disturbed by the discords, going as far as armed conflicts, that have occurred between some African countries. These conflicts often cause heavy losses to both sides and allow outsiders to take advantage of the situation to advance their own interests.

It is hoped that the unity achieved at the 19th OAU summit will pave the way to solutions of all outstanding disputes among the African countries so that they can concentrate their efforts on the complete emancipation of the African continent.

CSO: 4000/162

GENERAL

SPAIN MAKES NEW PROPOSAL TO BREAK CSCE DEADLOCK

OW182128 Beijing XINHUA in English 1704 GMT 18 Jun 83

[Text] Madrid, 17 Jun (XINHUA)--Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez today summoned heads of the delegations to the European security conference and announced a Spanish proposal to break the deadlock of the two-year-old negotiations.

The proposal envisages a specialists' meeting in April, 1986, to speed up the implementation of the clauses concerning contact between peoples contained in the Helsinki Final Document. The meeting, according to the proposal, should deal with family reunions and marriages between Eastern Europeans and Westerners.

The proposal, however, omits any reference to the jamming of radio broadcast in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Besides, the Spanish prime minister proposed that the European disarmament conference and a possible confidence-building conference be postponed until next January from its original schedule of November this year.

Diplomatic observers here consider that Spain's proposal, put forward when it is obvious that an agreement on a final document for the European security conference seems extremely unlikely, deserves careful analysis.

In March, the neutral and non-aligned countries at the conference tabled a compromise draft for the final document. The Western nations insisted on the inclusion of four amendments, including the improvement of human rights. But, the amendments have been strongly opposed by the Soviet Union and most of the East European countries. It was under these circumstances that Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez unleashed the new proposal in a bid to bring a quick end to the deadlocked conference.

CSO: 4000/162

GENERAL

BRIEFS

BANGLADESH TALKS WITH ROMANIA--Bucharest, 14 Jun (XINHUA)--Bangladesh and Romania are determined to struggle for the relaxation of international tension, for peaceful settlement of all disputes, for disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and for democratization of international relations, declared the two countries foreign ministers. The statement was made following talks between Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei and Bangladesh Foreign Minister A. R. Shamsud Doha. Doha left here today after a three-day visit. Both ministers expressed determination to make common efforts for expanding their cooperation. For increasing trade and strengthening economic cooperation, a meeting of the mixed committee for Romania-Bangladesh economic cooperation will be held here this fall. Doha told a press conference before leaving that the foreign policies of Romania and Bangladesh are the same. [Text]  
[OSI50426 Beijing XINHUA in English 0212 GMT 15 Jun 83]

CSO: 4000/162

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

XINHUA CORRESPONDENTS VISIT PLO CAMP IN ALGERIA

OW030805 Beijing XINHUA in English 0744 GMT 3 Jun 83

[ "Feature From Algeria: Palestinian Fighters Are Busy in Training--Visit to Palestinian Camp in Algeria"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Tebessa, Algeria, June 3 (XINHUA correspondents Wan Guang and Chen Peiming)--"It is transient for us to live abroad and we must be prepared for the future," said a Palestinian military leader to us when we paid a visit to the Palestinian camp here recently.

Tebessa, where Algerian guerrillas had been encamped before independence of the country, is in eastern Algeria. Since hundreds of the Palestinian fighters withdrew from Lebanon to Algeria last year, the Algerian Government has provided them with this camp.

Upon our arrival here we saw the flag of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the national flag of Algeria fluttering on the flagstaff. The Palestinian fighters, group by group, were busy at training on the ground. The morale of the fighters, men and women, was good.

We were told that the Palestinian fighters in the camp under the help of Algeria had been trained to use light and medium-sized weapons.

They begin their day with physical training. During the day, all officers and soldiers are engaged in military or professional training. In addition, they study politics and attend lectures.

A PLO military leader told us: "In the past, we were busy fighting Israelis and had no time to train. Now, we have lots of time to step up our military training. This is very important to us."

Commander of the camp Muhammad Jihad who was the commander of a Palestinian unit in defense of the west Beirut during their stay in Lebanon, received us. He told us: "We have drawn lessons from the fighting in Beirut and we are determined to improve our military capability here."

During our visit, we also called on the commander of the Algerian military region in Tebessa. He told us that the Palestinian cause is now winning more and more support from the justice-loving people of the world.

CSO: 4000/134

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

XINHUA CORRESPONDENTS REPORT ON PLO CAMP IN TUNISIA

OW022002 Beijing XINHUA in English 1136 GMT 2 Jun 83

[ "Feature From Tunisia: Palestinian Soldiers Determined to Fight to End--Visit to Palestinian Camp in Tunisia"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Tunis, June 2 (XINHUA correspondents Chen Peiming, Wan Guang and Liu Zuowen)--"Carry on the revolution to victory." This is the determination of the officers and soldiers of the Palestinian National Liberation Army at a camp in Tunisia.

Upon entering the camp about a dozen kilometers from here, one can see the national flags of Tunisia and the flags of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fluttering on either side of an arch. The entrance is guarded by Tunisian and PLO military police.

Hundreds of Palestinian soldiers have been living, training and studying here since their withdrawal from Beirut last August. They use a school building as barracks and have built new ones.

To help the soldiers keep up with the situation, the camp runs a cultural center well-stocked with books, newspapers and magazines from various parts of the world, especially from Arab countries.

Ibrahim, the man in charge, said his center also has several PLO publications on cultural, military and political affairs to keep the soldiers informed of the latest developments in these aspects. "We are determined to establish a state of our own," he said. "The Palestinian revolution is summing up its experience and lessons in the various stages of the past so as to strengthen its own ideological and military build-up and open up a way for ourselves."

The cultural center also sponsors lectures and discussions to raise the soldiers' political consciousness.

Everyone down from the commander and political commissar to the ordinary soldier at the camp understands that the Palestinian revolution has several phases and "is now at a delicate turning point."

"The present situation is grave indeed," said an officer. "The executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization under the leadership of Chairman 'Arafat is making both political and military efforts. The Palestine Liberation Army should maintain its unity and solidarity to show the world that we are fighting for a just cause."

A soldier said the army has lost some positions in Beirut, "But we should be ready to deal with a more difficult stage of the struggle in the future."

Although the soldiers at the camp have no weapons, they have been undergoing military training in preparation for the struggle in the future.

Most of the soldiers at the camp are in their twenties and the commander and political commissar in their thirties, but they are all experienced fighters.

A 23-year-old officer who has been in the Palestinian National Liberation Army for 10 years comes from a revolutionary family. His father and two elder brothers were killed in fighting and his several other brothers are all fighting against the Israeli Zionists.

He said the Palestinian revolution is a people's revolution. "Without the participation of the people, there would be no revolution," he said. He then added humorously, "although I am young, I have gone through and learned a lot. I have an old head."

Although the soldiers are in Tunisia, they have not forgotten that their homeland is still under Israeli occupation and many of their kins are living in refugee camps in Lebanon and other places. They said they are in Tunisia only temporarily and their most ardent hope is to return to their homeland one day as its rightful owner. Their goal, of course, is to liberate their homeland and establish an independent state of their own.

CSO: 4000/134

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

BRIEFS

SYRIAN-ISRAELI TENSION--Damascus, 27 May (XINHUA)--Tension has been growing between Israel and Syria along the cease-fire line in the Al-Biqa' valley, Lebanon. Syria today accused Israel of escalating tension in Lebanon with the aim of crushing the Syrian troops in the Al-Biqa' valley, the state-run Damascus radio said in a commentary. Israeli warplanes broke the sound barrier over Beirut Friday while an estimated 150 Israeli tanks, troop carriers and other military vehicles were spotted near coastal Ad-Damur and on the outskirts of Sidon. It was reported that the action came as Syria was beginning what Israeli news reports called large-scale military maneuvers along the Golan Heights and the Al-Biqa' valley. [Text] [OW280341 Beijing XINHUA in English 0247 GMT 28 May 83]

PRC SPORTS MINISTER TO TUNISIA--Beijing, 28 May (XINHUA)--Li Menghua, minister of the Chinese Physical Culture and Sports Commission, left here this evening for a visit to Tunisia. He will attend the Tunisian National Day and Youth Day celebrations during his stay, at the invitation of Tunisian Youth and Sports Minister Mohamed Kraiem. He was seen off at the airport by Lu Jindong, vice minister of the commission, and the Tunisian Ambassador to China Ridha Bach-Bauab. [Text] [OW281345 Beijing XINHUA in English 1334 GMT 28 May 83]

EGYPT CONDEMNS EXECUTIONS--Cairo, 9 Jun (XINHUA)--Egypt today condemned the South African fascist regime for its execution of three members of the African National Congress organization on charges of "high treason." A spokesman of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry called on the world community, particularly the United Nations, to take effective and practical actions against the fascist regime in South Africa, and to bring all sorts of pressure to bear on it. The spokesman said Egypt would continue its support of the South African people and the liberation movements in their struggle for self-determination, freedom, independence, dignity and equality. [Text] [OW100209 Beijing XINHUA in English 1857 GMT 9 Jun 83]

CSO: 4000/134

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'GENERAL' XIAO ON IMPORTANCE OF UNITED FRONT

OW131421 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0743 GMT 12 Jun 83

[Newsletter by XINHUA reporters He Ping and Cui Liscuo]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 12 Jun (XINHUA)--He is a general. He is also a poet and writer.

He is Xiao Hua.

Xiao Hua joined the revolution when he was young and has experienced the difficulties and development of the revolution. He was a member of the first CPPCC National Committee. He has now again joined the Sixth CPPCC National Committee. The reporters asked him to give his own view about the party's united front policy in light of the party's history and his own experience.

The general thought for a short while and said in a heavy Jiangxi accent: "The establishment of a broad patriotic united front is our party's glorious tradition. It can be said that since the day the Chinese Communist Party mounted the historical stage, it has held high the banner of the united front in the struggle against the reactionaries. In summing up the experience of the victory of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong regarded the united front as a great magic weapon to vanquish the enemy."

The general said with emotion: "The 8 years of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression were so hard. Besides the armed guerrilla war led by the party, a very important reason we were able to persist in fighting and win final victory was that we had established the broadest patriotic national united front against Japanese aggression. It was also by relying on this united front that we with millet and rifles defeated the Kuomintang's 8 million troops with their fine U.S. equipment and won nationwide victory at one stroke. In the more than 30 years since liberation, every success we have achieved in socialist revolution and construction has been inseparable from the unity and cooperation of our party with other parties, groups and people of all walks of life in the common struggle."

His expression became serious. "Historical experience has proved time and again that whenever our party pays attention to the united front, the revolutionary cause develops and prospers, and that otherwise the revolutionary cause suffers setbacks and even defeat. This is a law governing the development of the Chinese revolution."

On the question of the party's united front in the new historical period, he said: "In the new historical period, the class relations have changed fundamentally in our country. The bourgeoisie no longer exists as a class. Our country's united front has changed from the original alliance which included the national bourgeoisie into the broadest patriotic united front composed of all socialist workers, patriots who support socialism and patriots who support the motherland's reunification including compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad. The unity within the united front is now stronger than ever before. It can be said that this is a situation of great unity and solidarity never before seen in the history of the Chinese nation. Comrade Hu Yaobang recently pointed out that we 'never forget unity in struggle and strive to make China strong and prosperous.' These words are not only a highly succinct generalization and summation of past historical experience but the guiding principle for future united front work. Although the Communist Party is the leading party of the whole country, Communist Party members are after all a minority among the entire population. Affairs of state cannot be handled well by relying on one party or group alone. Only by closely uniting with the people and relying on the people can we communists be of one heart and one mind, unite in struggle and make China strong and prosperous."

In conclusion, he raised his voice and said sincerely: "Without the people, we can accomplish nothing because the people is our mother."

CSO: 4005/924

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LI RUISHAN AT FORUM ON MINORITY AREAS

HK150233 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 14 Jun 83

[Text] On 12 June, Li Ruishan, director of the preparatory group for the national conference on production and living standards among minority nationalities and vice minister of the State Economic Commission, convened a forum in Nanning on production and living standards in a number of minority-nationality Guangxi counties, to find out about production and living standards in those areas and study ways of promoting faster economic development and gradual improvement of living standards in minority-nationality areas.

After hearing reports from Longzhou, Duan, Donglan, Napo, Ziyuan, and Rongshui counties and autonomous counties, Comrade Li Ruishan expressed the hope that the minority-nationality counties would draw up development plans and arrange in priority order matters of food, clothing, housing, transport, culture, education, medicine, and public health. They should not sit and wait. They should strive to get some things done each year.

Comrade Li Ruishan said: In developing the minority-nationality mountain areas, it is necessary to solve properly the relations between grain and forests and between forests and animal husbandry. We must not destroy forests for land reclamation. Grain should be grown on suitable land and efforts made to improve yields, so that the masses can have enough to eat. The mountain areas must first of all get a good grasp of forestry production. This is the fundamental way to develop the economy in those areas. We must get results from this. At the same time, there is a lot of grass in the mountain areas. We must get a good grasp of stockbreeding and develop specialized households in this respect. In forestry, we must pay attention to growing some trees with high economic value, such as tong oil, fruit trees, and certain valuable trees. In this way development can be speeded up.

He said: We must concentrate investment and forces to build electric power lines and roads, doing a bit every year. This is a long-term scheme for developing minority-nationality economy.

Comrade Li Ruishan said: We should set up some processing industries according to local conditions. We should first run just a few, on a small scale, and gradually develop this business after gaining experience. He hoped that the departments concerned in the region would help the minority-nationality counties to open up industry and sideline occupation opportunities.

Regional government Vice Chairmen Wang Zhuguang and Zhang Shengzhen and responsible comrades of departments concerned took part in the forum.

CSO: 4005/924

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHAO KUANGYIN'S POLICY TOWARD NATIONALITIES

HK170920 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Wang Ruiming [3769 3843 2494]: "Zhao Kuangyin's Strategy of 'Taking First the South and Then the North' and Relations Among Nationalities"]

[Text] The strategy of "taking first the south and then the north" adopted by Zhao Kuangyin, Emperor Taizu of the Song Dynasty, in unifying the country was widely criticized as erroneous. But in fact, this policy was advantageous to the development of friendly relations among nationalities.

In light of the situation at that time, Zhao Kuangyin decided to take first Hunan and Hebei, followed by Sichuan. The invasion of the northern Han state came last. Judging from a comparison of the strength and the strategically significant conditions such as geographical positions, populations, and production of all the then existing states and the order of importance and urgency, he should have unified the [words indistinct]. At that time, the southern regimes were opposed by the masses and deserted by their followers, and he could not afford to let the golden opportunity slip. Zhao Kuangyin said: "Since the five dynasties, the country has been ravaged by successive wars and is thus poverty-stricken. It is necessary to take first Sichuan and then Guangdong, Guangxi, and the areas south of the Changjiang River. Then, the country will become wealthy. The areas east of the Huanghe River are contiguous to the areas occupied by the Qidan tribe. If I take these areas, the Qidan tribe will cause trouble for us. For the time being, I just will let them alone and act as a buffer-state until we are rich and powerful enough to take them." ("Brief Accounts of Events in the Eastern Capital," Vol 23) To end the situation, in which the country was being torn apart by rival states, by laying solid material and mass foundations for the unification of the country in the south first was the most valuable element in Zhao Kuangyin's strategy.

We should not think that Zhao Kuangyin had to wipe out the entire Qidan tribe before we can say that he had finished his job. Zhao Kuangyin had earnestly paid close attention to "capturing the hearts of the people," which is a more difficult task than to "capture cities." He did much in dividing and demoralizing the northern Han state and the Qidan tribe, with

notable results. For example, in the 10th month of the lunar calendar in the 6th year of Kaibao (969 A.D.), 16 clans, including the Sheli and Yulu [word indistinct] of the Qidan tribe crossed over to the side of the Song Dynasty. Four chiefs of the clans, including Luomei, were conferred the title of Huaide general of the army and eight others the title of Huaihua general of the imperial guards. Fifteen deputy chiefs were conferred the title of guide arm-bearer. Three years later 2,248 households of the northern Han state sought refuge with the Song Dynasty. There were many similar examples. The Song Dynasty made proper arrangements to help the officials and ordinary people who sought refuge with the Song Dynasty settle down, whether they came with all their clansmen or collectively. These examples tell us that Zhao Kuangyin was quite successful in winning the support of people. At that time, people of all nationalities desired the unification of the country and a stable social environment. This was precisely where the key to the successful unification of the country lied during the Song Dynasty. In view of this, Zhao Kuangyin strove to win the support of people and he was quite successful.

In addition to winning the support of people, Zhao Kuangyin did not give up making war preparations. Yet he was both reasonable and moderate in using force. In the 11th month of the lunar calendar in the 3d year of Qiande, the Qidan tribe captured some inhabitants of Yizhou. Zhao Kuangyin sent troops to areas occupied by them to capture the same number of people. He did not release them until the Qidan tribe released the inhabitants of Yizhou. At that time, the Song Dynasty was by no means weak. Once, the Qidan tribe sent 60,000 cavalry soldiers to Dingzhou. Zhao Kuangyin issued the order to "fight when the enemy comes, but do not chase him." Subsequently, Tian Qinzu led an army of 3,000 to defeat the Qidan troops, who were 20 times the size of the Song troops. In the 6th month of the lunar calendar in the [figure indistinct] year of Kaibao, He Weizhong, the prefect of Yizhou, "strengthened defense posts in Yizhou and won the support of the armymen; he frequently conducted operations along the Great Wall and he was invincible; the Qidan tribe was shocked by him and dared not cause disturbances along the borders for more than a dozen years; the people of Yizhou owed a great deal to him." ("Ibid," Vol 14) Under the reign of Zhao Kuangyin, which lasted for more than a dozen years, the military might of the Song Dynasty grew and it enjoyed a higher prestige than that of the Qidan tribe. Thus, the Qidan tribe was happy to maintain friendly relations with the Song Dynasty. Later, contradictions between nationalities intensified. However, we should not put the blame on Zhao Kuangyin's strategy of "taking first the south and then the north."

We should have written volumes about the friendly relations between the Song Dynasty and the Qidan tribe. It is an important matter on which our affirmation of the strategy of "taking first the south and then the north" is based. In the 3d month of the lunar calendar in the 8th year of Kaibao, the Qidan tribe sent a special envoy, Kemiaogushensi, to the Song Dynasty with a letter of credence. Zhao Kuangyin paid close attention to the friendly

relations between the Song Dynasty and the Qidan tribe. He said: "Since the five dynasties, our enemy in the north has been powerful; perhaps this is caused by the weakness of China. We were so weak that the emperors of the later Jin Dynasty suffered untold humiliation. However, out of the depth of misfortune comes bliss. Now, we are looked up to with admiration. This is perhaps brought about by good luck, not my virtue, which is not worth mentioning." ("Brief Accounts of Events in the Eastern Capital," Vol 16) In order to bring about friendly relations between two nationalities, both sides must make an effort, without which friendly relations are impossible. In order to express his appreciation for the repeated friendly visits of the special envoys sent by the Qidan tribe, in the 8th year of Kaibao, he sent many special envoys to the Qidan tribe in return. Such an exchange of friendly visits was in keeping with the interests of various nationalities. Zhang Qixian said: "If there is peace along the borders, we can reduce the transportation of provisions to the front and the people living in the areas north of the Huanghe River can recuperate and multiply. Consequently, we can develop agriculture and sericulture, accumulate grain, and strengthen frontier defense. I think our enemy also wants to seek benefits and avoid them. They are not willing to risk their lives to cause disturbances!" What he said is correct.

That Zhao Kuangyin adopted a friendly attitude toward minority nationalities is also reflected in his attitude toward minority nationalities other than the Qidan tribe. He was especially polite and kind toward the Dangxiang tribe. When Li Yixing was the controller of the Dingnan Circuit, he once sent Zhao Kuangyin 300 horses as a tribute. Zhao Kuangyin personally ordered a jade carver to make him a jade belt in return. In order to maintain the friendly relations between the Song Dynasty and the minority nationalities, Zhao Kuangyin encouraged the officials responsible for frontier defense to "uphold peace and look after the masses along the border areas." He once told a trusted minister: "In order to uphold peace and look after the masses along the border areas, it is necessary to find the right persons. If the officials who share the responsibilities for the border areas are up to my expectations, we must give preferential treatment to their families, let them enjoy excellent pay, confer titles of nobility on them, and give them a share of public money and taxes delivered by the prefectures so that they will think of repaying my kindness. We should exempt them from paying taxes so that they can recruit their own men to fight for them." Officials who were unable to uphold peace and look after the masses along the borders were dismissed from office immediately. Gao Fang, a minister in charge of one of the six boards of civil service, had made some military and economic achievements. However, Zhao Kuangyin did not appreciate him and dismissed him from office because he undermined the friendly relations between the nationalities. In short, we cannot say that the failure to wipe out the Qidan tribe was a result of Zhao Kuangyin's erroneous policy. In addition, we also should not put the blame on Zhao Kuangyin's strategy of "taking first the south and then the north" for this reason.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LIAO CHENGZHI APRIL SPEECH ON INTELLECTUALS

HK221034 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 83 p 6

[ "Excerpts" of speech by Liao Chengzhi: "Show Greater Respect and Concern for Intellectuals Among Returned Overseas Chinese and Relatives of Overseas Chinese"--delivered at the national forum on the work on intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and relatives of Overseas Chinese held on 28 April 1983]

[Text] The party Central Committee has time and again stressed that work on intellectuals must be taken seriously and strengthened. In strengthening the work on intellectuals, I think intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and relatives of Overseas Chinese should not be ignored; on the contrary, they should be given greater respect and concern. The reasons are as follows:

1. Among them are many experts, scholars, and talented people, considered first-rate in the world or in our country. They are outstanding figures who have made great achievements in many sections of our country such as education, public health, scientific research, and engineering technology. Through practical work for a long time, many of them have become the mainstay on various fronts, making successful achievements for the country.
2. They have wide and close connections with hundreds of thousands of Overseas Chinese and Chinese people of talent with professional knowledge living abroad, as well as a great number of foreign experts and scholars. In our efforts to draw support from foreign advanced science and technologies to speed up China's modernization, they can play an important link by means of their favorable conditions.
3. Many of them, having been separated by a great distance from their family members for decades and having given up a fairly well-to-do life, persist in staying in China to devote themselves with lofty patriotic zeal to the four modernizations. Being separated from their family members, they always encounter difficulties more than the intellectuals who are born and grow up in China.

4. They have suffered setbacks more than others. As a result of the long-standing mistakes of the "leftist" deviation, they were badly discriminated against and wronged much more than other intellectuals. So their mental wounds can hardly heal quickly. Even today, some of them are still being discriminated against in the units they work in only because of their "overseas relationship." Such discrimination usually vexes them when they apply for party membership, or when they are under consideration to be promoted, used, trained, and selected to be sent on a mission abroad.

Comrade, please think. Should not such people be shown greater respect, confidence, concern, and care by our party and nation and by our cadres and people?

I think what is most important is to show them greater respect. Intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and relatives of Overseas Chinese often feel hurt when they are not respected and trusted, or when they have no chance to display their abilities or talents. However, instances of stifling real talents are still occurring today in many places. Some of them accomplished nothing when they had been in China for a long time, but they can do a lot and become talented after going abroad. This resulted from our drawbacks in work. I think it is very inexpedient. Leaders in some of our departments and units like to trace shortcomings of intellectuals among Overseas Chinese and relatives of Overseas Chinese with a magnifying glass. Once a shortcoming is found they are immediately put into limbo. These leaders even look at them through rose-colored glasses, thus they often turn things upside down and distort their merits as demerits. During the new period, a good leader has to know well how to treasure people of talent and to be adept in seeking and making use of them. Otherwise, he cannot be regarded as a competent leader. To show greater respect to intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and relatives of Overseas Chinese, it is necessary to thoroughly clear up the influences of "leftist" mistakes and, in particular, the discrimination and prejudice against them resulting from their "overseas relationship." We must have the courage to make use of them, and especially give full play to their good qualities and merits. Great importance must be attached to promoting to leading posts those with special professional knowledge and abilities of organization and management. Great attention must be given to making use of their favorable conditions of having wide connections abroad, and dispatching them abroad without hesitation for investigation tours or advanced studies in a planned way and, in particular, dispatching the experts and scholars of Overseas Chinese who have been in China for years but still have influence abroad, or who have recently returned to China for settlement.

Greater concern must be shown for intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and relatives of Overseas Chinese. This means that priority must be given to the solution of their pressing problems. Now, once this question is raised, some people immediately say: "What about the others?" I do not mean that we should not give overall consideration to the problem of showing concern for other intellectuals. I mean that we should not always consider all things

at the same level and oppose giving priority to solving some problems. This is a tendency of negating their characteristics and an expression of egalitarianism. We must combat such an idea of egalitarianism. If we do not struggle against it, we can hardly break through the obstacle. In dealing with this problem, we must take the whole situation into account. If we do not make efforts to solve their pressing problems, we can hardly set their mind at rest. This will make the state suffer an irretrievable loss of gifted people in socialist construction. If we fail to do so, we can hardly reassure Overseas Chinese, unite the broad sections of Overseas Chinese abroad, and give full play to their role in the four modernizations, the great cause of reunification of the motherland, and safeguarding world peace. Giving priority to showing them proper concern is beneficial to the state and people. Local authorities must adopt some rules and regulations according to local conditions and apply some suitable methods to solve their pressing problems as soon as possible.

Work toward intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and relatives of Overseas Chinese constitutes a major part of the party's work toward intellectuals. To make a success of this work, first, CPC committees and people's governments at various levels must take it seriously. I hope that leading comrades of local authorities will pay sufficient attention to the work, and really give more leadership to it.

Departments in charge of affairs concerning nationals living abroad must take more responsibility for the work toward intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and relatives of Overseas Chinese; they must take it as a major task in their work. This should become the major criteria of examining the work in these departments:

1. Warmheartedly serve them. It is necessary to protect their just rights and interests, strengthen their patriotic feeling and aggressiveness in work, and be bold and fully justified to rush about to surmount their difficulties and ease their anxieties.
2. Emphasize practical results. It is necessary to conscientiously do them good turns. The major drawback in our present work is that the number who conscientiously do their job are far from enough. I fervently hope that you will not indulge in idle talk and talk big, but try to be people of action and have the courage to do what you think right. Through investigation and study, you may take some problems as typical ones in a certain period of time, and adopt some measures to solve them in coordination with relevant departments. It is necessary to constantly examine your work and try to solve each problem as soon as it crops up.
3. Whip up public opinion. The work on intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and their relatives is complicated, which involves various fields of work. The department in charge of affairs concerning nationals living abroad should not put on a one-man show. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out extensive propaganda in the work so that all sectors in society and all relevant departments will be able to know the state of intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and their relatives, and the significance of the work so as to obtain their hearty support.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HU YAOBANG HAILS INTELLECTUAL INVESTMENT IDEA

OW130632 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 May 83 p 1

[By reporter Di Jianrong]

[Text] Yantai, 7 May--This reporter has learned from the Chinese Financial Society's annual convention that Hu Yaobang, in connection with a speech entitled "Intellectual Investment Must First of All Be Guaranteed in Financial Expenditure," recently wrote to Qian Jiaju [adviser to the Academy of Social Sciences], hailing his candor on state policy. Hu Yaobang said in his letter: I have had the pleasure of perusing your speech and think your candor on state policy should be encouraged. I have referred your speech to comrades Yilin [Yao Yilin], Song Ping and Bingqian [Wang Bingqian] and I think they will seriously consider your opinion. Of course it will probably be a number of years before we can spend as much money on education as the world's advanced countries can. But I think there is still great hope for us to achieve this goal.

Qian Jiaju's reading of his speech and Hu Yaobang's letter at today's meeting evoked a strong response among listeners. In his speech Qian Jiaju pointed out that it has been our country's usual policy to emphasize capital construction in the economic sector, thus putting economic construction ahead of educational, scientific and cultural development, but that this policy cannot meet requirements of the four modernizations.

Qian Jiaju said we must correctly understand the nature of education. Instead of regarding education as a totally consumptive undertaking, we must consider it a productive investment. Educational investment must have priority, and the state's financial expenditures must guarantee intellectual investment above all. Education must be placed before, not after, economic construction. Only when education has been developed can our country's economic construction be accelerated. It is incorrect to think that educational development should take place gradually to match the pace of economic development.

CSO: 4005/924

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHONGGUO JINGJI WENTI ON RURAL POPULATION CONTROL

HK171031 Beijing ZHONGGUO JINGJI WENTI in Chinese No 2, 20 Mar 83 pp 43-47

[Article by Ye Wenzhen [5509 2429 2182]: "Further Control China's Population Growth With the Emphasis on the Countryside"]

[Text] The population problem has always been an extremely important one in the economic and social development of our country. The 12th CPC National Congress defined family planning as a fundamental national policy of our country. This was a brilliant act. In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The birth rate of our population is now at a peak. The too rapid growth of the population will not only prevent an increase in per capita income but will also give rise to serious problems in regard to the supply of food and housing and the satisfaction of needs for education and work. This will even have an effect on social stability. Therefore, we can never relax our family planning efforts, especially where the countryside is concerned. We must conduct extensive ideological education for the peasants. So long as we do our work well, the aim of controlling population growth can be attained." Comrade Hu Yaobang's instructions have raised our awareness of the great significance of the proper handling of rural family planning work and have also shown us the correct way to do a good job of rural family planning work. Following are two points into which I have gained an insight:

1. Family Planning Work Should Focus on the Countryside

Putting the emphasis on the vast countryside in our family planning work--this is dictated by the features marking the reproduction of the rural population, by the existing state of rural family planning work and by the great impact that a rural population has on our economic and social development.

First, the reproduction of the rural population is marked by such features as its large base, quick growth and the young age of its members. These have a decisive effect on the growth of our population. With its large base, the rural population by the first half of 1983 had reached more than 801.59 million. In the years since liberation, the rural population has always accounted for more than 80 percent of the total population of the country. Given below is a table:

Distribution of Our Population Over Urban and Rural Areas in Certain Years of the 32 Years Since Liberation

<u>Year</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>
Total Population	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Rural Population	89.4	88.2	86.8	86.5	84.6	80.2	81.2	87.8	87.9	87.5	86.8	86.3	86.1
Urban Population	10.6	11.8	13.2	13.5	15.4	19.8	18.8	12.2	12.1	12.5	13.2	13.7	13.9

The large population base gives the countryside a great capacity for population growth. According to an estimate, there are at present about 120 million women in the fertile age group, 100 million of them in the countryside. The rate of growth is rapid. The natural growth rate of our rural population is about 150 percent that of the urban population. Given below is a table:

The Natural Growth of People in Cities and Counties in Certain Years Since 1971

<u>Year</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>
Percentage of Natural Growth						
Rate of National Population	23.4	21.0	15.8	12.0	12.1	11.7
Percentage of Natural Growth						
Rate of Rural Population	24.3	22.0	16.6	12.6	12.5	12.1
Percentage of Natural Growth						
Rate of Urban Population	16.4	12.9	9.6	8.2	8.8	8.8
Number of Times County Population Greater Than City Population	1.48	1.70	1.73	1.54	1.42	1.38

The high natural growth rate of the rural population is attributable to the common rural practice of early marriage and childbirth. According to a survey of the rural population of Hubei, the average first marriage age of women married between 1949 and 1970 was 19.38. Those who gave birth within 2 years of marriage accounted for 63 percent. The average first marriage age of women married after the 1970's was 22.54. Reproduction also began at the age of about 25. In the past few years, the young women in the countryside who planned to marry before 22 accounted for around two-thirds. Those who planned to have children within 2 years of marriage represented 75 percent. At present, the percentage of women with many children in the countryside was still above 30 percent, around 3 times that in the city. They were in the young age group. According to the third national census, the people below the age of 20 represented 50 percent of the total national population, or more than 500 million, among which over 80 percent were in the countryside. Of the children, representing two-thirds of the total national population, 90 percent were in the countryside. By the end of this century, our country will have more than 240 million young couples in the marriage and reproduction age group, most of them young men and women in the countryside. These three great features show that the growth of the rural population plays a highly significant role in the growth of our population. From 1949 to the first half of 1982, of just the increased 460 million or so people in our country, the rural population accounted for more than 320 million, the increase in the countryside representing 70 percent. Therefore, the characteristic of population growth is actually the characteristic of the reproduction of the rural population. The state of the development of the rural population will fundamentally decide the scale and pace of the development of our population and its future trends. Without properly controlling the growth of the rural population, we cannot possibly achieve the goal for the control of our population.

Second, the countryside has greater difficulty practicing family planning than the city. Compared with the urban industry or economy, our agriculture at present is fundamentally still a semi-selfsufficient small-production economy. The productivity of agricultural labor is low and the commodity rate of agricultural products is also low. The total volume of agricultural products procured by the commercial system in 1979 represented only 37 percent of the total agricultural output value for that year. The commodity rate of grain for 1981 reached only 21.1 percent. Because of the backward agricultural economy, peasants' income is closely related to the number of workers available in the family. The fact that a family can obtain more income through having more workers has encouraged peasants to marry and produce early. The backward agricultural economy has also caused the idea of "raising children for protection in old age" to dominate the peasants' concept of having children. This has become the chief motive behind the demand by the rural women in the fertile age group for the production of more offspring. The backward agricultural economy has furthermore hindered the relatively quick development of cultural, educational, medical and sanitation undertakings in the countryside, so that the masses of peasants have difficulty accepting the new concept of birth and scientific knowledge about family planning. The degree of planning involved in the growth of the human population is commensurate with the level of the development of social productivity. A backward level of the development of agricultural productivity naturally imposes much greater difficulties on rural family planning work than on a city, for that matter.

Third, the countryside is still a weak link in the chain of family planning efforts. As for increases in the natural growth rate in 1981 after a fall were concerned, the three municipalities of Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai showed an increase of only 11.16 percent, while 26 provinces and regions registered an increase of 14.65 percent. This shows that current rural family planning work is not on a solid enough basis and is less than stable. The main factors responsible for this are: The absence of a relatively sound rural family planning work organ and a consolidated contingent of basic-level family planning cadres; failure to pay close and proper attention to propaganda and education as the focus of rural family planning work, failure to adjust to the developing rural economic situation and to continuously improve on and perfect measures for the control of family planning; and the lack of cooperation and support from various government departments and urban and rural social forces in regard to rural family planning work.

Fourth, the blind growth of the rural population is a major reason why agriculture has failed to give better play to its role as a foundation. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy of our country. The state of the development of agricultural production has a direct and decisive effect on the scale, pace and level of the development of our national economy. The 12th CPC National Congress defined agriculture as a strategic priority in economic development in the 20 years ahead. But given the rapid growth of the rural population over a long period of time, the rural economy has all along been in a backward state, seriously affecting the pace of modernization. Given below is a table:

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>percentage increase in 1980 over 1952</u>
Agricultural population (millions)	460	820	167
Agricultural workers (millions)	173	310	179
National cultivable area (billion mu)	1.62	1.49	92
Average cultivable area per member of agricultural population (mu)	3.3	1.82	55
Average cultivable area per agricultural worker (mu)	9.4	4.8	51
Total grain output (billion jin)	327.6	640.4	195
Average grain output per agricultural worker (jin)	1,893	2,066	109
Total agricultural output value (billion yuan)	63.58	162.72	256
Average output value created by each agricultural worker (yuan)	367.50	524.90	143

Figures on the table show the following: 1. From 1952 to 1980, given a drop of 8 percent in the national cultivable area and an increase of 67 percent in the agricultural population of the country, the average cultivable area for each member of the agricultural population was cut by 45 percent. Given an increase of 79 percent in the total number of agricultural workers of the country, the average cultivable area for each agricultural worker was reduced by 49 percent. Both figures are higher than the reduced national cultivable area per capita. The rapid growth of the rural population is a major factor exacerbating the contradiction of a large population in our country sharing a small area. The too rapid growth of the agricultural population has not only limited the agricultural mechanization of our country but also hampered the effort to increase the productivity of agricultural labor. This has further caused the phenomenon of an excessive supply of labor to become ever more serious. In 1981, our spending on agricultural machinery purchases was only 1.16 percent of the total agricultural output value. In 1980, the number of persons fed by each agricultural worker in our country, including himself, was just 3, which reached only 3 percent that of India, 17 percent that of Japan, and 3 percent that of the United States. According to one estimate, given the present surplus of one-third of agricultural workers, more than 360 million workers in our countryside will have to be placed by the end of this century. 3. The large rural population means the consumption of a great part of the staple agricultural products. This is a basic cause of the low commodity rate in agriculture. 4. The too rapid growth of the rural population has prevented the peasants' material and cultural life from being improved faster. This has not only damped the peasants' enthusiasm for production but also restricted an improvement in the quality

of the agricultural population. This is not conducive to agricultural modernization. At present, for every 10,000 members of the agricultural population, there are less than four technical workers. Of the nearly 400 million young and able-bodied persons in the countryside, the illiterate [words indistinct] illiterate account for 30 percent, and those with primary school standards 40 percent. Those with education above higher middle school standards are very few. In 1975, of the peasants in Japan, college graduates accounted for 5.8 percent, higher middle school graduates 74.8 percent, and junior middle school graduates 19.4 percent. It can be seen that an excessively large rural population and a backward rural economy have an effect on each other, thus forming a vicious circle and creating many unfavorable factors in the development of our national construction. Therefore, to develop agriculture as quickly as possible and ensure the successful realization of this strategic goal, we must at the same time pay proper attention to rural family planning and take it as the focus of our family planning work.

## 2. Realistically and Properly Focus on Rural Family Planning and Strive To Keep Our Population Under 1.2 Billion by the End of This Century

After the introduction of family planning in the countryside in the 1970's, with the long-term efforts on the part of the masses of rural basic-level cadres and family planning work cadres in particular, the natural growth rate of our rural population was reduced from 24.3 percent in 1971 to 12.1 percent in 1979, down 50 percent. This shows that rural family planning work can be done well. Cadres represent a decisive factor. We must further perfect family planning work organs at all levels in the countryside and consolidate and enlarge the contingent of rural basic-level family planning cadres. We must draw on the forces represented by party schools at all levels, cadres' schools of various departments and colleges of finance and economics to give the masses of rural basic-level leading cadres and family planning cadres training in the theory on the population in separate groups on a rotating basis. We must as quickly as possible raise their level of the Marxist theory on the population and their actual ability to do family planning work. It is suggested that while continuously carrying out the cadres' on-the-job responsibility system of simultaneously tackling "two kinds of production," we should introduce the on-the-job family planning work responsibility system that calls for the granting of allowances. Every month, a given proportion of money is to be taken out of state funds for designated family planning undertakings and granted in the form of subsidies to cadres involved in rural family planning work. In the past years, thanks to the common efforts on the part of the urban and rural family planning cadres, our country had over 60 million less people, thus directly saving 132 billion yuan in the cost of supporting them for the state and also appropriately reducing the pressure of the growth of our population of future economic construction. It is, therefore, entirely proper that these cadres should be given on-the-job allowances.

Comrade Zhao Enlai also pointed out: "Family planning is feasible. But it requires proper attention to propaganda and education." At present, the feudalist concept of marriage and birth still has a profound and extensive influence on our countryside and obstinately hinders the development of rural family planning work. This requires all the more that education and

propaganda aimed at changing peasants' concept of birth are of top importance in rural family planning work. By transmitting and upholding the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, we must give prominence to the propagation of the strategic significance of the control of the population, and raise peasants' consciousness of family planning. The practice of family planning is an important part of the program for building socialist spiritual civilization. According to an investigation, for an illiterate woman, the average number of children born was 4.8, for one with a primary school standard, 3.05, and for one with a middle school standard, 1.76. It can be seen that there is an inverse ratio between a woman's educational standard and the number of children she bears. We must quickly develop rural cultural construction, thus stimulating the building of peasant's thinking. This will surely help accelerate planning for birth control among peasants. At present, the masses of peasants that have become well-off have shown an increasing enthusiasm for the development of rural scientific, cultural, and educational undertakings. A tremendous change has been brought about in their spiritual outlook. The state and the collective should give energetic guidance and keen support in regard to human, material and financial resources. They should launch more extensive rural campaigns to popularize education and eliminate illiteracy and carry out agricultural scientific research activities, recreational and athletic activities, and ideological and political work in the countryside. Thus, the peasants can more quickly raise their scientific, cultural and educational levels and foster advanced communist thinking and the concept of birth. We must take the practice of family planning as an important indication of "civilized villages," "five-good households" and "five-good commune members," and energetically cite and publicize advanced typical examples in family planning. The aim is to create powerful public opinion and a good trend among the peasants, as far as the establishment in the countryside of the idea of attention to family planning being a glory and in attention to family planning being a shame is concerned. The practice of family planning has been clearly incorporated into the new constitution. Through the study and propagation of the new constitution, we must help the peasants to cultivate the concept and habit of observing and upholding the constitution and to practice family planning consciously. We must energetically popularize scientific knowledge of contraception and birth control, do a good job of providing medical and equipment supplies for rural family planning, introduce a technical responsibility system for family planning, and ensure the safety of sterilization procedures. While seriously doing a good job of publicity and education concerning family planning, we must adopt effective economic measures in light of the changing rural economic situation and ensure the firm implementation of the rural population policy. Childbearing itself is a problem closely related to the economy. Under the socialist system, it embodies the immediate interests of individuals and the long-term interests of society. It is necessary to use economic means as a regulating factor. Those people who produce more offspring than planned add to the economic burden on the state, bringing about a reduction in the state's accumulation of production and injuring long-term social interests. Therefore, they have to bear some kind of economic responsibility and be subject to economic penalization. This is a matter of course. Conversely, those peasants who subordinate their own immediate

interests to the long-term interests of the whole society and consciously practice family planning should be given various kinds of economic assistance. They should first of all be assured of proper education for their children, so that the latter can become well trained in professional fields. We must incorporate economic measures for family planning in the agricultural responsibility system, so that they can play a more positive role as a regulating factor.

We must continue to stabilize, improve on and perfect the agriculture production responsibility system and give full play to its powerful stimulating role in rural family planning work. In the past 1 or 2 years, the natural growth rate of the rural population has shown a rise again. Some people have attributed this to the introduction of the agricultural production responsibility system. Obviously, this idea runs counter to objective facts and cannot hold water.

What causes a rise again in the natural growth rate of the rural population has to do with three factors: 1) the new "marriage law" began to come into effect in early 1981. The stipulated legal age for marriage is made 3 or 4 years earlier than the age that we promote in our appeal for late marriage. Hence a sharp rise in the number of those people married; 2) Those people born at the second peak of the population growth from early 1962 to the end of 1973 have begun to enter the stage of marriage and production; 3) Given the temporarily imperfect responsibility system, we have failed to improve in time the original measures for the control of family planning in light of the demands of the changing rural economic situation, so that some areas have taken a laissez-faire attitude toward family planning work. In fact, the introduction of the agricultural production responsibility system is entirely compatible with the carrying out of rural family planning work. Both are aimed at speeding up the development of the rural economy and improving the masses of peasants' material and cultural life as quickly as possible. The two can entirely be closely linked up to produce results complementing each other.

In fact, the introduction of the agricultural production responsibility system has served to greatly raise the level of the development of the rural economy and to increasingly eliminate social and economic conditions on which the traditional rural sense of marriage and concept of birth have relied for survival. This has also greatly accelerated the building of rural spiritual civilization and continuously added to the influence of the socialist consciousness of marriage and concept of birth among the masses of peasants. Therefore, a great stimulating effect will naturally be produced on rural family planning work.

1. With the introduction of the production responsibility system, those peasant families with not many children have also benefited from favorable economic conditions enabling them to get rich first. Moreover, they have the advantage of achieving far greater progress than those peasant families with many workers in them. The responsibility system has accordingly put land on a fixed household basis. The concentration and full utilization of

human, material and financial resources represent a major guarantee for getting rich through hard work. But before their children grow up, those families with many children have already invested much in feeding and raising them. They have also suffered a reduction in income because of such burdens imposed upon them as pregnancy, birth, caring for the children, and so forth. This is also to say that they have gotten rich only by paying a price. On the other hand, those peasant families with few children can save such an investment of labor. They can concentrate all the energy and time they have on scientific farming. They can also devote more of their family income to expanding reproduction. Thus, they can get rich relatively quickly. Take the peasant Zhou Pu of Zhongba County, Sichuan Province, for example. His is a family of three. Apart from the couple, there is a 4-year-old child. Both husband and wife have undertaken the scientific cultivation of 3.9 mu of land. During the autumn harvesting, the whole family reaped more than 125,000 jin of grain alone. This, coupled with income from household sideline occupations, brought the family more than 3,500 yuan in total annual output value, or an income of more than 1,100 yuan per person. Looking at future development, those peasant households with fewer children will enjoy still greater advantages. Those peasant households with fewer children can save large sums which would be spent on the marriage of children, and enjoy relatively steady conditions for getting rich. Those children of big families will also reach the age of marriage and production when they grow up to be workers. They will have to spend on building additional housing, preparing for marriage and getting things fixed for the arrival of babies. Thus, the expansion of accumulated funds for production suffers. Once married, children leave their families. More peasant households of young couples result. If like their elders, the young couples produce more offspring, then the road to wealth will be blocked. Due to their reduced expenses and their greater income on a long-term and steady basis, those peasant households with few children will have more family savings than those with more workers in them. This also provides favorable economic conditions for their "self-support in old age." Now, many peasants have in the process of introducing the agricultural production responsibility system come to see with increasing clarity the advantage of having fewer children, as this only helps to make them get rich more quickly.

2. With the implementation of the production responsibility system, not only is the production efficiency of peasants greatly raised and the labor time shortened, but also the pace of agricultural mechanization is accelerated. In the past, the peasants of the Jiepai Commune of Tuanchuang, Anhui Province, had to get busy for 300 days a year. Every day they worked as long as 12 hours. Now, they have only 4 months in which they are very busy. Every day they need to work only 8 hours. In 1981, as compared with 1978, the total amount of power attributed to agricultural mechanization throughout the country showed an increase of 33.7 percent, the number of large and medium-sized hand-operated tractors, an increase of 42.1 percent, and the number of power-driven threshers, an increase of 19.5 percent. Thus, with a rapid increase in the productivity of agricultural labor, already excessive rural labor has become even more plentiful. Such a situation objectively has a restraining effect on the peasants having more children.

3. With the introduction of the production responsibility system, the countryside has generally shown an "enthusiasm for science," "enthusiasm for education," and "enthusiasm for cultural life." This is effectively restraining childbearing on the part of peasants. With the introduction of the responsibility system, the countryside has whipped up an upsurge in the campaign to consciously study science and to rely on science to get rich. When the peasants go downtown, their first concern is to visit the bookstore. Peasant families have subscribed to newspapers and magazines on agricultural science. Peasants travel afar at their own expense to seek advice from others on matters of agricultural science. There are more and more new deeds in which typical high-production households lead the way in scientific farming. To meet the needs of the peasants in their studying agricultural science and technology, various rural areas have established a great number of agrotechnical schools, agrotechnical service stations and agrotechnical demonstration households. The number of agrotechnique popularization associations in our communes has also increased quickly from a 4,000 a year ago to more than 15,000. Facts show that the peasants' traditional concept of having more children to get more labor in developing production is being gradually replaced by the new idea of grasping advanced agricultural techniques to stimulate production. The introduction of the production responsibility system has also encouraged those peasants who have gotten rich to shift their interests from the building of new housing and purchase of property to investment in education for children. They are energetically trying to create good study conditions for their descendants. From 1979 to the end of August 1982, there were built 3,625 new school premises in Hu County, Shaanxi, or 41 percent of the total built in the 29 years before 1977. More than 35,000 sets of school tables and seats were purchased, or 65 percent of the total bought in 29 years. Of the nearly 6.5 million yuan invested in education, 78 percent came from the masses of commune members in the forms of private investment. The growth and development of the rural educational enterprise and the improvement in the cultural standard of young rural residents are highly conducive to the development of rural family planning work. In the past few years, rural spare-time cultural life has also become active. The commune members have contributed money or raised funds to hold sports contests, organize spare-time theatrical troupes, and build cinema houses, clubs, sports grounds, and reading rooms. They also travel at their own expense to buy large numbers of television sets, tape recorders, and so forth. Things like these are common occurrences. This shows that since the introduction of the responsibility system, the increasingly favorable rural situation has been continuously promoting the peasants to shift from the pursuit of more children to the enjoyment of material civilization and spiritual civilization.

4. With the introduction of the production responsibility system, our peasants have developed an increasingly new spiritual outlook. More and more commune members have sold surplus grain to the state. Wealthy households have lent money to help those in difficulties. Free of charge and even at their own expense, the former have helped others to repair farm implements. They also build roads and bridges for the collective. An improvement in the peasants'

patriotic and collectivist thinking has provided favorable political and ideological conditions for the firm implementation of our population policy in the countryside. Meanwhile, the road to wealth that the masses of peasants have stepped on has also laid a material foundation for the strengthening of propaganda and education concerning rural family planning work.

5. With the introduction of the production responsibility system, the rapid development of the rural economy has created more favorable material conditions for the proper solution of the problem of "being provided for in old age." According to recent statistics by the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the number of homes for the aged set up by our rural people's communes and brigades has risen to more than 8,800, an increase of more than 1,600 over 1978. More than 116,000 "5-guaranteed" old persons are happily spending the remaining years of their lives in homes for the aged. The masses of peasants have been gradually relieved of their worries. This will arouse still greater consciousness in the practice of family planning.

Therefore, to further carry out rural family planning work, we must continuously develop and perfect the agricultural production responsibility system and pay attention to strengthening ideological and political work and taking effective economic measures, in order to create a favorable situation in which peasants can get rich through the practice of family planning. We must properly increase collective welfare funds and make proper arrangements for the livelihood of lonely old people in their later years. We must strive to organically link up the cadres' on-the-job responsibility system of tackling "two kinds of production" with the agricultural production responsibility system and the family planning responsibility system, and use the cadres' on-the-job responsibility system to guide the responsibility system of "two kinds of production," so that family planning work can be firmly carried out in the countryside in an overall manner.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO ON REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGIES

HK200837 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by the compilation group of the scientific socialism teaching and research center of the Central Party School: "The Strategy and Tactics of Proletarian Revolution"]

[Text] Marxist strategy and tactics constitute the science guiding the proletarian revolutionary struggle. The ability of a proletarian party in power to formulate and effect correct strategies and tactics has a direct bearing on the success or otherwise of the proletarian revolutionary struggle.

The victory or defeat of the proletarian revolutionary struggle is decided by two factors: objective factors, and subjective, conscious factors. Objective factors are those aspects of historical development which do not hinge on the will of the proletariat or its ruling party, like the character of society, class relations, the form of revolution, and so on. Objective factors merely provide the proletariat with the possibility of winning victory; for them to actually win this victory, they must do a lot of subjective, conscious work. The overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a socialist one involves a long and tortuous process of repeated tests of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Only if the proletarian party in power is good at relying on and organizing all revolutionary strengths to wage all sorts of struggle against the dominant reactionary classes, can victory be won. The proletarian ruling party cannot overstep the limits permitted by objective conditions in its attempt to win victory in revolution; but it can and must play a dynamic role, within the limits set by objective factors, in the struggle for victory. This requires that the ruling proletarian party possess the ability to push ahead the development and change of the revolutionary struggle. And for this purpose it is necessary to study and grasp the science of guiding the proletarian revolutionary struggle--Marxist strategy and tactics.

Strategy represents a political line taken by a proletarian party in power during a certain stage of the development of the revolution, in order to achieve its revolutionary goal. It decides, based on the reality of class relations, which classes are to be relied upon, which are to be united with,

and which are to be attacked. The task of strategic guidance lies in the correct deployment of all revolutionary forces to achieve the revolutionary goal of the proletariat. Within a relatively long developmental stage in a revolution, the revolutionary movement often undergoes different shorter stages of ebb and flow, and high and low tides. Tactics represent specific lines of action adopted during these shorter periods, decided according to the demands of strategy and changes in situation, and the corresponding forms of struggle and organization, and battle slogans. The task of tactics lies in the overall grasp and utilization of all forms of struggle and organization to ensure the achievement of the strategic goals.

Strategy and tactics have both essential differences and inherent links. Generally speaking, strategy reflects overall, long-term, basic interests, while tactics reflect partial, current interests; tactics serve strategy, and strategy is implemented through tactics.

The founders of the theory on the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution were Marx and Engels. Summing up the experience of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, they put forward the basic principles governing proletarian strategy and tactics, such as those concerning the unity of current and long-term interests, the ideology behind the worker-peasant alliance, the revolutionary art of armed uprising, the international unity of the proletariat, and so on. Marx told the proletariat that in the struggle against the enemy, it was necessary to take full advantage of the contradictions among the enemy, and possible to form alliances with those who were not the major enemies. He said: "In the pursuit of a particular political goal, it is even possible to unite with demons, as long as it is affirmed that it is you who is leading the demons, and not the demons who are leading you." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 8, p 443) Later, during a period of peaceful capitalist development, the strategic and tactical theories of Marx and Engels were abandoned by the opportunities of the Second International.

With the coming of the age of imperialism, [phrase indistinct], the brilliant thinking of Marx and Engels on the subject of the strategy and tactics for proletarian revolution was revived and carried on by Lenin. Lenin not only revived this thinking, but developed it and added some new thoughts and principles, and, under the new historical conditions, evolved a more complete set of strategies and tactics for proletarian revolutionary struggle. For example, he expanded their ideas on the subject of the proletariat's right to lead the proletarian revolution into the idea that the proletariat should exercise its leadership over the laboring masses not only in a socialist revolution, but in a bourgeois democratic revolution, in the struggle for national liberation, and in all progressive social movements. He developed the strategic slogan "proletarians of the world unite" into "proletarians and oppressed peoples of the world unite." He proposed the strategy of turning a bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist one. He put forward the original theory that in areas where imperialist domination was weakest, a socialist revolution in one or several countries could succeed. He raised the tactical slogan of working wherever the masses were. He put forward the tactical principle of combining intraparliamentary with extra-parliamentary struggle, and legal with illegal struggle; and so on and so forth.

In the course of the revolutionary struggle in Russia, Lenin particularly emphasized the use of lively, dynamic tactics. He said that on the one hand it was necessary to use every "rift" between the enemy, no matter how small, and on the other, to use every opportunity, no matter how slight, to win over great numbers of allies. He also demonstrated the inevitability of compromise in revolution, saying: "We must learn to differentiate between two types of people; the one who gives arms and money to bandits in order to reduce the amount of damage they will cause, and to make it easier to capture and kill the bandits [word indistinct]; and the one who gives money and arms to bandits in order to join the gang and share the spoils." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 194)

Marxist strategic and tactical thinking represents the compass of a revolution and the science of its development. It is correct in that it combines the specific realities of every stage and every period in the development of every country's revolution. Only by independently formulating correct strategies and tactics compatible with their respective countries' actual conditions and based on those conditions and on the state and development of their class relations, can the communist parties of all the various countries lead those countries' revolutions toward victory.

Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experience of the tortuous development of our country's democratic revolution and, starting with the realities of the Chinese revolution, gradually formulated and implemented a correct strategy and correct tactics, thereby greatly enriching and developing the Marxist theory of strategy and tactics. Comrade Mao Zedong gave a brilliant demonstration of the huge importance of strategy and tactics in revolutionary struggle when he pointed out: Policies and tactics are the life of the party. In the sphere of struggles against the enemy, he also had many important tactical ideas, such as: under changing subjective conditions, a small, weak revolutionary force can ultimately win victory over a big, strong reactionary force; strategically, we should despise our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously, and we should make use of contradictions, winning over the majority, opposing the minority, and destroying them one by one. On the question of the united front, Comrade Mao Zedong considered that the proletarian party in power must exercise leadership over its allies under the following two conditions: first, it must lead them to wage staunch struggle against common enemies, and beat them; and second, it must give those who are led material benefits, at least the benefit of not suffering losses, while at the same time conducting political education among them. This brilliant, original thinking, formed in the process of the Chinese revolution, added new riches to the treasure chest of Marxist strategic and tactical thinking. These ideas, proved to be correct in practice, have not only enriched and developed Marxism but still have timeless guiding significance now, both in socialist modernization at home, and in international struggles against hegemonism, imperialism and colonialism.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING STUDENTS, RESIDENTS APPROVE NEW LEADERS

OW182006 Beijing XINHUA in English 1709 GMT 18 Jun 83

[Text] Beijing, June 18 (XINHUA)--Beijing University students were gathered in the common rooms when the results of elections were announced on the television tonight. The weekend film show, a French production of "Les Miserables," was postponed.

The students interviewed by XINHUA included graduating students preparing their treatises and law students who had just returned from a tree planting trip to the city's outskirts.

Bo Zhiyue, a student of international politics, found the results of the elections coincided with the prediction by his class. "This shows that the new state leaders were elected not only by the NPC deputies but also by all the Chinese people," he said.

Liu Nengyuan, 25, of the economics department, who had worked in the countryside for three years, said he had seen the low living standard of the peasants under the influence of the ultra-left line as well as the improvement brought about in recent years by the production responsibility system. "Facts show that the state leaders are capable of pushing forward the country's economy," he said.

In Qinghua University, Xu Zhimin, a fourth-year student of hydraulic engineering, said he was delighted that the outcome of the elections dovetailed what he and his classmates had expected. People are familiar with the records of these leaders in the past few years and know who is best for what position, he added.

Zeng Shi, who is graduating from the engineering physics department this year, said his classmates are full of confidence in the country's development. He said that the whole class are ready to work in places where they are most needed.

He said: "The choice of state leaders has a vital bearing on the country's future. In the past, we were unduly negative about the seamy side of our society. We now feel that the country has a bright future. We hope to do something big for the country's development."

The elections were also a central topic of conversation among residents in the myriad traditional-style compounds and houses all over the capital.

Chen Jizhou, a 70-year-old pensioner who lives in a compound in the eastern part of the city, said, "The elections turned out as I had expected. We are confident that under their leadership our nation's economic construction will steam ahead."

His views were shared by all others in the compound which houses nine families with 25 people ranging from an octogenarian to teenagers.

Zhang Qingheng, 54, a worker at the No 5 municipal construction company, said the new leaders are experienced in economic affairs. "I'm confident that China will fare much better in the future," Zhang said. "We must uphold the policy of self-reliance and try to build a powerful country through our own efforts."

Li Zongyin, 81, was once General Zhang Xueliang's secretary and is now a member of the municipal committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He said that the newly elected leaders enjoy popular support. "I believe that under their leadership, China will surely grow in prosperity and the people's livelihood will be further improved," he said.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO ON PEASANT UPRISING LEADERS

HK171255 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 83 p 3

[Article by Chen Wutong [7115 2745 2717]: "Several Questions on the Appraisal of Leaders of Peasant Uprisings"]

[Text] In historical science circles, there are many differences and controversies regarding the appraisal of leaders of peasant uprisings. Here I wish to express my initial opinion concerning several questions in the discussions.

Criteria for Distinguishing Between Peasant Uprising Leaders and Alien-Class Elements

With regard to peasant uprisings, there have always been differences concerning the appraisal of peasant army leaders with landlord class origins. One of the viewpoints is that all those persons with landlord class origins joining the uprisings were alien-class elements, careerists, and conspirators lurking in the peasant revolutionary ranks. Another viewpoint maintains that those peasant army leaders with landlord class origin were leaders of the uprisings whose class standpoint had been radically transformed and who had already turned their backs on the landlord class. These two viewpoints all lack concrete analysis and are therefore not to be favored.

As is well known, in the history of our country the famous peasant army leaders who really came from peasant families were few in number. If we practice the theory of the unique importance of class origin and exclude all the leaders of non-peasant origin from the category of peasant leaders, then it will be difficult for us to classify the ranks led by these leaders as peasant revolutionary troops. Furthermore, in this case it will be impossible for us to obtain correct description and appraisal for those peasant uprisings and peasant wars in our history which were famous throughout the world for their frequency and their great scale.

In a class society, every person belongs to a certain class and is closely related to a certain class relationship and interests. However, man's class attributes can be changed. Marx and Engels once pointed out: "When class

struggle approaches a decisive stage, the process of disintegration within the ruling class and within the old society will become very intense and acute, which may even prompt a small number of people of the ruling class to separate from the ruling class and become attached to the revolutionary class--the class that determines the future." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 261) The theory of the unique importance of class origin has the defect of metaphysics and treats man's class attribute as something stationary or unchangeable. This cannot reflect the intricacy and complexity of historical phenomena, nor can it make an appropriate appraisal of the leaders of uprisings.

The change in a man's class attributes should of course include the change of his ideology and class standpoint. Our forefathers did not possess definite and scientific class standpoints, nor did they have the class consciousness on the basis of scientific class viewpoints. However, we cannot therefore negate altogether the possibility of change of class stands for those persons of landlord class origins after their joining the peasant uprisings. This is because the realization of a change in class stand is not entirely dependent on class consciousness, but depends primarily on various kinds of social practice, especially the practice of class struggle. But the change in a man's class attributes is conditional: it depends not only on the changes of objective circumstances, but depends also, and more intensively, on personal subjective activity. Although these leaders might come from landlord families, their motives in joining the uprisings were different, and their performance in the struggles was also extremely diverse. Take the revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom as an example. Feng Yunshan, who was an intellectual originating from the lower stratum of the landlord class, and confronted with the rotten rule of the Qing Dynasty and the aggression of Western capitalism, had made up his mind long before to agitate a peasant uprising to overthrow the rule of the Qing Dynasty. Having joined the Bai Shang Di Hui, he went to the Zijing Mountain area in Guangxi, and lived together with the broad masses of poor peasants and coal kiln workers. He intensively mobilized the masses and propagated revolutionary ideals. Even though he suffered from repeated setbacks and occasional imprisonment, he never faltered in his revolutionary faith and determination, and at last he dedicated his precious life to the Taiping Revolution. On the other hand, Wei Changhui, who came from a landlord class family which was "traditionally engaged in the pawn broking business, and possessed abundant land property," ("Compiled Information Concerning the Bandits," Vol 1) joined the Bai Shang Di Hui in an attempt to seek revenge on his personal enemies because of his failure in the strife within the landlord class. Although he was among the first batch to participate in the revolutionary cause and had made some contributions in the course of the march of Taiping army and the establishment of the capital, nevertheless his landlord class nature had never changed. Finally, in an attempt to realize his ambition of usurping supreme power, he started the Tianjing Rebellion, resulting in heavy losses for the cause of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. If we do not make a class analysis of the practical performance of these leaders and instead classify all of them as leaders of revolutionary uprisings, we will obviously be wrong.

Then, with regard to those uprising army leaders who came from landlord class or other non-peasant families, what are the criteria for distinguishing between peasant uprising leaders and alien-class elements? I think that the primary basis for judgment should be their performance and contributions in the course of their uprising. They were leaders of revolutionary uprisings if they truly shared the fate of the peasant army and gave impetus to the development of the peasant uprisings, and made contributions to shattering the force of the landlord class and overthrowing the rule of the feudal dynasties. On the other hand, they were alien-class elements if they did not share the fate of the peasant army and weakened the fighting will from within, disintegrated the revolutionary ranks and caused losses to the revolutionary undertaking.

#### Evaluate the Merits and Demerits of the Peasant Uprising Leaders on the Basis of the Principle of Historicism

In the past, when evaluating the peasant uprising leaders, some people described such persons as Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuquan who had devoted their lives to the peasant revolution as perfect personages without any shortcomings or blunders, and matched their images with those of the leaders of the proletariat. They also held those persons like Liu Bang and Zhu Yuanzhang who had changed qualitatively from uprising leaders to feudal emperors as renegades to the cause of revolution, and these leaders were severely criticized without mentioning their contributions to the peasant wars. Recently there were some people doing just the opposite. They praised Zhu Yuanzhang and others to the skies because these leaders discarded egalitarianism and practiced feudalism, succeeded in becoming emperors, and thus made outstanding contributions to speeding up the development of China's feudal economy and providing soil for the budding of capitalism; at the same time, they denounced Li Zicheng, Hong Xiuquan and others because they did not cast off egalitarianism and did not practice feudalism, failed to be emperors even though on the threshold of success, and thus had to share certain responsibility for the slow development, backwardness and passive state of the Chinese nation, and they maintained that historically the contribution of Zhu Yuanzhang was much greater than that of Liu Futong and Li Zicheng, and that the former deserved more credit. Although these two opposing appraisals are sharply contradictory, neither of them is in conformity with historical facts.

In every period of history, men of each class have to live and do things under certain historical conditions and class status. Each period and each class should have its own representative personages who would reflect the requirements of that period and that class with their ideology and practice. At the same time, as men in a society, since they are the representatives of certain period and class, their ideology and practice are bound to be restricted and limited by that period and class, which results in inevitable shortcomings and defects in these persons. In appraising historical figures, their ideology and practice and their merits and demerits should be analyzed and evaluated in a practical way and in association with the related times and conditions. In this respect, neither excessive praise nor underrating should be practiced.

According to the principle of conception of history, when we appraise the past peasant uprising leaders, we should first of all distinguish between them and the modern proletarian leaders, and should not assess them with the same criteria as we assess the modern proletarian leaders. Peasants in feudal society were not the representative elements of the new productive force and the new relations of production. They were laborers and the oppressed, and therefore they possessed the revolutionary nature of antifeudalism. Desirous of shaking off the exploitation and oppression of feudalism; at the same time, they were small producers and small private owners, both backward and conservative, and thus it was impossible for them to eliminate the exploitation and oppression of feudalism. The result of peasant uprisings was that on the one hand, the rule of the landlord class was dealt a heavy blow and the restrictions of the feudal relations of production on the productive force were weakened and mitigated, thus opening up the way for developing production and for the progress of society; on the other hand, all the uprisings ended in failure, and thus were unable to thoroughly destroy the feudal system and to truly emancipate the peasants. The uprising leaders were the political representatives of the peasant class, so we can only make demands on them according to the ideological level and political consciousness of the peasants at that time. The qualitative change of Liu Bang and Zhu Yuanzhang was an inevitable result of their being uprising leaders who had survived the wars in a feudal society. Therefore we cannot negate their contributions to peasant wars altogether just because of their qualitative change, or else we will be overcritical on our part. Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuquan made very outstanding contributions historically, but they, on the other hand, had not cast off the limitations of the peasant class at that time, and had their individual shortcomings and mistakes. We should not shelter their defects because of their merits, or else we are beautifying these persons. Of course, nor will it be right for us to reverse our assessment. Egalitarianism among peasants is naturally undesirable in our modern, practical life, but it was a powerful weapon for the peasants in older generations to fight against feudalism. Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuquan used the program and slogan of egalitarianism to extensively mobilize and unify the uprising masses, strike heavily at the landlord class, and even overthrow the feudal dynasty; they used the program and slogan to help the peasants to shed off the relationship of personal attachment and take back part of the land from the hands of landlords, thus creating the conditions for the development of the individual economy of peasants, the enlivening of the commodity economy, and the budding of capitalism. In these respects, what is there to be accused of? Zhu Yuanzhang gave up egalitarianism, adopted feudalism, changed the direction of the peasants' struggles, and eventually placed the fruit of the peasant uprising in the hands of the landlord class. In these respects, what is there to be worthy of praise?

According to the principle of historicism, when we appraise the past peasant uprising leaders, we should also distinguish between them and other historical figures, and should not make demands on them according to the criteria used for evaluating feudal emperors. As political representatives of the

peasant class, the peasant uprising leaders could only think what the peasants would think and act as the peasants would act, and we can only assess them in the light of the class interests of the peasants at that time. Judgment of the deeds and misdeeds, merits and demerits of the uprising leaders purely on the basis of whether they adopted feudalism or of whether they turned into feudal emperors will deviate from the proper criteria for appraising uprising leaders. Therefore, it cannot be tenable to assert that the contribution of Zhu Yuanzhang in history was greater than that of either Li Zicheng or Liu Futong. The life of Zhu Yuanwang had gone through two different historical periods of being a peasant uprising leader and of being a feudal emperor. His historical merits after he ascended the throne can be compared only with the merits of those feudal emperors such as Qin Shihuang, Han Wudi, Tang Taizong, and Song Taizu, and should not be compared with the merits of those uprising leaders such as Liu Futong and Li Zicheng. [phrase indistinct] the comparison should be limited to their activities during the periods when the uprising was in progress. In this respect, the contribution of Zhu Yuanzhang was not as great as that of Liu Futong, let alone that of Li Zicheng. Liu Futong was the first to hold high the revolutionary banners, paving the way for subsequent uprisings by numerous heroes including the uprising led by Zhu Yuanzhang. He led the Red Scarf Army in the north and pinned down and annihilated a major part of the military forces of the Yuan Dynasty. This served as a kind of "protection and shelter" for the development of Zhu's forces in the south, and also radically weakened the ruling basis of the Yuan Dynasty, and prepared the conditions for the ultimate overthrow of the Yuan Dynasty by Zhu Yuanzhang. It can be well asserted that without the long struggles of Liu Futong and his Red Scarf Army in the north, it would have been impossible for Zhu Yuanzhang to overthrow the rule of the Yuan Dynasty, nor would it have been possible for the economy to recover and develop during the initial stages of the Ming Dynasty.

Ultimately, what should be the basis for evaluating the historical merits of the leaders of peasant uprisings? In my opinion, it should be based primarily on the practical results of their actions in the course of the peasant uprisings, and on the functions and contributions they performed in expanding the revolutionary uprising ranks and in striking at the rule of the landlord class and the feudal dynasties. Higher appraisals should be accorded to those who achieved greater practical results and made greater contributions.

#### Distinction Should Be Made Between Surrender, Fake Surrender, and Qualitative Change

How to treat the peasant uprising leaders' surrender, fake surrender, and qualitative change is a question which is hard to tackle and about which controversy rages. Surrender is an act of betrayal of one's class, clique or nation. Some people hold that the act of surrender is only a matter of moral integrity and thus cannot serve as a criterion for appraising historical figures. As a matter of fact, surrender is not simply a matter of moral integrity, as it often involves a person's merits and demerits in history.

The surrender of the uprising leaders to the enemy was certain to demoralize and weaken the peasant army. In addition, after their surrender, these people often turned against the peasant uprising and assisted the enemy in smashing the uprising movements and slaughtering the revolutionary masses, thus having an extremely destructive impact on the peasant revolution.

Therefore, we consider it a matter of course to classify the act of surrender as one of the criteria for assessing uprising leaders. Condemnation and repudiation should be imposed on those actions which involved the loss of revolutionary integrity, surrender to the enemy, betrayal, and cravenly clinging to life instead of braving death. And affirmation and commendation should be given to those actions which showed a high degree of revolutionary integrity, resisting the temptation of profitable offers, and not yielding to outside hostility and threat.

Instances of fake surrender occurred in many peasant uprisings and peasant wars. In the past, surrender and fake surrender were once treated as betrayal all the same. Zhang Xianzhong was criticized because he had been "pacified" in Gucheng. In fact, not only Zhang Xianzhong, but also Li Zicheng, who is publicly known as an outstanding uprising leader, had all performed the act of fake surrender by accepting the "pacification" from the rulers. As a matter of fact, their actions of pretending to be "pacified" were merely a kind of strategic struggle adopted under the force of circumstance, the aim being the preservation of forces to tide over difficulties and danger, so that they could start fighting afresh when the situation took a turn for the better. This should be seen as qualitatively different from genuine surrender, and the two should not be confused and mixed up together and simply termed acts of betrayal.

In the past, the qualitative change from uprising leaders to feudal emperors was repudiated as the action of renegades. It is true that this qualitative change means a radical change of class stand. In this sense, this qualitative change may be termed betrayal if analyzed with the class viewpoint of the Marxist theory. However, this qualitative change of the peasant leaders is still different from direct surrender to the enemy. Direct surrender is a self-conscious act under conditions in which the demarcation between the two sides is clearly defined, and it involves the question of moral integrity. But qualitative change is an unconscious act of mistakenly shifting to the camp of another class under conditions in which the scientific class standpoint is lacking, and it doesn't involve the question of moral integrity. What is more important is that the surrender of the uprising leaders was decided by personal morality, and qualitative change was determined by the limitation of the peasant class. In the past numerous peasant uprisings, uprising leaders showed widely different shades of fighting will, with some leaders surrendering to the enemy in the midst of fighting, and some persisting in fighting to the last breath. From this it can be seen that the surrender of certain peasant leaders has nothing to do with the limitation of the peasant class. However, all the uprising leaders, no matter how outstanding, great, brave, or staunch they might be, in the course of their uprisings all showed certain degrees of feudalization. The

prototypes of Liu Bang and Zhu Yuanzhang could be found in those personages from Chen Sheng to Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuquan. Once the uprising army destroyed militarily the rule of the old monarchy, established the new monarchy and consolidated its rule, the uprising leaders would, without exception, change qualitatively into feudal emperors. This proves that the qualitative change of the peasant uprising leaders was rooted in the limitation of the peasant class itself, and a historical inevitability. Therefore, with regard to the qualitative change of the uprising leaders, we should seriously point out the change of their class stand and of the class interests they represented, and concretely analyze the consequences of this kind of change on the peasant wars; but at any rate we should not equate them with renegades and accordingly play down their historical merits.

In short, when evaluating the peasant uprising leaders, we must adhere to Marxist class analysis and historicism. Only in this way can we truly distinguish between their merits and demerits, their deeds and misdeeds, so that appropriate evaluation regarding their historical merits can be given without any distortion.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TAIWAN DEFECTOR SATISFIED WITH MAINLAND LIFE

OW211911 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 21 Jun 83

[Text] Beijing, June 21 (XINHUA)--Huang Zhicheng, an air force officer who flew over to the Chinese mainland from Taiwan in August 1981, said here today that he believes he has "made the correct choice."

He said this in an interview he gave to some Beijing-based foreign correspondents at their request, in the capacity of a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

"During the current session of the committee," he said, "I've said everything I wish to say."

As a military man, he added, he has put forward some proposals for strengthening the legal system and improving the rules and regulations in the armed forces.

"On the mainland," he said, "we have a healthy social environment, a stable political situation, an independent economy and an independent foreign policy. Life here is rich and colorful. Our people are united. All this is what Taiwan should try to emulate."

He said he does not mean that everything is good on the mainland and bad in Taiwan.

"People on both sides of the Taiwan Straits have their merits," he said. "For example, Taiwan has gained some experience in developing education and in economic management."

However, he continued, "life in Taiwan is restless and precarious. Not a few people there are squandering their time away or leading a dissipated life, seeing no future for themselves."

Huang Zhicheng said the Chinese nation is marked by its tremendous coherence and people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait have the same sense of national dignity and the same wish for national reunification.

Since my return to the mainland, he added, "I've straightened up my back and felt proud that I'm now living truly as a Chinese."

Huang Zhicheng is now deputy commandant of an air academy in charge of regular training and theoretical study. "I myself have much to learn," he said. "At present I am learning the art of command. And I wish to study some philosophy and to brush up on my English. I hope I can do something to help improve the quality of training."

He said he missed his mother, brothers and sisters in Taiwan as well as his friends, schoolmates and colleagues there.

"I hope they will have an opportunity to meet people from the mainland and overseas Chinese who are familiar with the situation here," he said.

"Through such contacts they will know that many things are entirely different from what they have been told in Taiwan."

For instance, he said, the "Cultural Revolution" is what people heard about most frequently in Taiwan, which gave them an impression of total chaos, talk about the achievements of the mainland in the past decades is taboo there.

"There was indeed chaos during the 'Cultural Revolution,'" he said, "but that's something of the past. Now everything here is thriving."

Another example is the question of freedom, he said. "When I was in Taiwan, I was told that there was no freedom here and people were restricted everywhere. So I spoke with caution when I first came back.

"But soon I found we do have freedom of speech. I can speak whatever I like. In my academy, I always point out what I feel to be wrong."

Huang Zhicheng said he wishes to tell his relatives and friends in Taiwan through the press that he has been leading a satisfied and happy life. He got married last year. His wife worked with the CAAC and is now studying English in the No 2 Foreign Languages Institute in Beijing.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

FORMER KMT FISHING VESSEL DEFECTORS COMMENDED

OW191235 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1451 GMT 17 Jun 83

[By reporter Weng Zuoxiang]

[Text] Guangzhou, 17 Jun (XINHUA)--The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fishery ceremoniously held a meeting this afternoon to present certificates to the uprising personnel of Boat Yuqiong and four other former Kuomintang fishing vessels to commend their patriotic just deeds and to encourage them to make contributions to China's four modernizations and the reunification of the motherland.

Thirty-three years ago, five fishing vessels under the Guangdong branch of the supply safekeeping committee under the Kuomintang Legislative Yuan, named respectively "Yuqiong," "Yupu," "Yuyang," "Yujin," and "Yulian," berthed in Hong Kong for repairs. Encouraged by the excellent situation of liberation throughout the country, some 20 crew members of the fishing vessels uprose in Hong Kong on 29 March 1950, separating themselves from the Kuomintang and returning to the embrace of New China to join the socialist construction in Guangdong. During the last 30 years and more, they made positive contributions in their respective posts to the socialist construction of the motherland and to the development of China's aquatic products. Some comrades have joined the CPC; many have become ship captain, chief officer, chief engineer, or responsible persons at other administrative, scientific and technological posts; and still others have been promoted to engineers and have become the backbones at the aquatic products research department and other units. In order to implement the party's policy toward the uprising personnel, Xiao Peng, vice minister of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fishery, made a special trip from Beijing to Guangzhou to present the certificates to the uprising personnel. Yang Li, vice governor of Guangdong, spoke at the meeting.

More than 200 people attended today's meeting, including leading persons of the United Front Department and the Aquatic Department of Guangdong as well as representatives of other circles.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO ON PRC AGE STRUCTURE, MODERNIZATION

HK210946 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by Tian Xueyuan [3944 7185 0626]: "Promote the Modernization Drive by Taking Advantage of Changes in the Age Structure of the Population"]

[Text] The Influence of the Age Structure of the Population Over the Economic Development

The 12th CPC National Congress made family planning and controlling population growth a basic national policy of our country. The position and role of the population in the modernization drive have thus been restressed. How do we understand the role of the population? In my opinion, not only must we pay attention to the number and quality of the population, but we must also pay attention to the role of the age structure of the population. We must conscientiously study the influence of the age structure and its changes over the construction of the four modernizations.

No one was born a laborer. One can become a laborer only after one goes through the stages of baby, child, and early youth. However, throughout one's life, from birth to death, one is always a consumer. In light of the different roles played by people at different stages in their life, the science of studying the population divides the population into three basic groups: the young population under the age of 14, the economic production age population between 15 and 64, and the elderly population above 65. The proportion of the number of children and elderly people to the population at the economic production age indicates the rate of people at a subordinate age. If this percentage is high, it shows that the proportion of the young and middle-aged people, who are at the economic production age, is a small number in the total population, and that the proportion of the elderly people and children who need to be taken care of by the state is big. This is unfavorable to the development of the economy. Contrarily, if the percentage is low, it is favorable to the development of the economy. At present, the world's average rate of people at the subordinate age is about 73.2 percent. The rate in underdeveloped countries is 75.4 percent, while in the developed countries it is 51.5 percent. The former is 1.4 times greater than the latter. When the rate of people at a subordinate age is high, as a result

of the increase of consumption and the reduction of productive accumulation, the development of the national economy will be directly affected. On the other hand, as the funds for the development of science and education cannot be relatively increased, the quality of the population and the labor force cannot be raised as it should be. Thus, the development of the national economy will also be indirectly affected. Therefore, a rational age structure and an appropriate low rate of the people at a subordinate age are important conditions for the smooth development of the economy.

#### The Trend of Changes in the Age Structure of China's Population and the Rate of the People at a Subordinate Age

Then what is the trend of changes in the age structure of China's population and the rate of the people at a subordinate age? Recently, in order to clarify this problem, we made several plans to predict the change of the age structure, on the basis that China's population will be controlled to within 1.2 billion people at the end of this century according to plan, and got some relatively complete data.

1. The plan based on a higher birth rate. Taking the general birth rate, 2.3 percent of 1978, as the base, if the birth rate is reduced to 2.2 percent in 1985, to 1.9 percent from 1985 to 2000, and is then raised to 2.1 percent from 2000 to 2020 and is maintained at this level, then the rate of people at a subordinate age will be: 69 percent for 1978, 45 percent for 1990, 49 percent for 2000, 41 percent for 2020, and 56 percent for 2040.
2. The plan based on a medium birth rate. If the general birth rate is reduced to 1.9 percent in 1985, to 1.6 percent from 1985 to 2000, and is raised to the level of 2.1 percent from 2000 to 2050, the rate of the people at a subordinate age will be: 69 percent for 1978, 42 percent for 1990, 43 percent for 2000, 37 percent for 2020, and 58 percent for 2040.
3. The plan based on a lower birth rate. If the general birth rate is reduced to 1.7 percent in 1985, to 1.5 percent from 1985 to 2000, and is raised to the level of 2.1 percent from 2000 to 2060, then the rate of the people at a subordinate age will be: 69 percent for 1978, 40 percent for 1990, 40 percent for 2000, 36 percent for 2020 and 61 percent for 2040.

What are the reasons for the above-mentioned changes in the rate of the people at a subordinate age? The present age structure in our country is comparatively younger. The people under 25 account for more than 50 percent of the total population. In the coming 40 years, they will still be in the group of people at the economic production age. At the same time, the growth of the number of elderly people will not be as rapid as the reduction of the number of young people caused by the decline in the birth rate. Thus, in any of the above plans, there is a trend of decline in the rate of the people at a subordinate age before 2020. But after 2020, the people under 25 now constituting the majority of the present population will become old. The growth of the number of elderly people will become comparatively rapid, and the rate of the people at a subordinate age will reach a new height.

In order to prevent excessive aging of the population, in the above three plans, the birth rate is raised after 2000 so that the number of people at the economic production age will be gradually increased after 2015. Thus, even when the rate of people at a subordinate age reaches a new height in the 2040's, it will still be lower than the present one. It will then gradually decline and will be kept around 55 percent in 2080, which is close to the average level of the developed countries at present. The trend of development of the age structure over the past few decades shows that if the birth rate continues to decline, according to any of the above-mentioned three plans, there will be a marked decline in the rate of the people at a subordinate age in the coming 20 years in this century, and a slight decline in the first 20 years of the next century. This is an inevitable trend.

#### Taking Advantage of the 'Golden Age' of a Good Age Population Structure

The above-mentioned facts show that the period from now to the year 2020 will be a "golden age" for our country with regard to the age structure of the population. The rate of people at a subordinate age will be very low during this period. This "golden age" can also be divided into two stages: the stage before the year 2000, in which the rate will drop by a big margin, and the stage from 2000 to 2020, in which the rate of decrease will become slower and then will stop before an increase appears.

This development has an important bearing on the realization of the targets of quadrupling the total industrial and agricultural output value by the year 2000 and on the modernization drive. First, it will help accumulate more funds for construction. From 1953 to 1978, the state had to spend more than 45 billion yuan each year for the consumption of the young population. If the expenditure in this field is not increased in the future, then, according to the calculation based on the above-mentioned second plan, as the proportion of the young population between 0-14 years will be reduced from 35.8 percent in 1978 to 27.6 percent in 1985, to 23.3 percent in 1990, to 22.3 percent in 1995, and to 22.7 percent in 2000. Compared with 1978, the state can still reduce its expenditure in this field by 9.2 billion yuan in 1985, by 14 billion yuan in 1990, by 14.5 billion yuan in 1995, and by 13.1 billion yuan in 2000, after deducting the increased expenditures due to the increase of the number of the elderly population. They add up to a huge sum of several hundred billion yuan. If a part of this sum is used to develop production and construction, especially to improve the technological makeup of industrial and agricultural production, it will play an important role in the realization of the target of quadrupling the total industrial and agricultural output value.

Second, the population of the people at the economic production age will also experience some changes. According to the second plan, the proportion of the people at the economic production age, that is, the people between 15 and 64 years, in the total population will be raised from 59 percent in 1978 to 66.6 percent in 1985, to 70.4 percent in 1990, to 70.8 percent in 1995, and to 69.7 percent in 2000. The actual number of this population will be increased from 570 million in 1978 to 830 million in 2000, an increase of 260 million in more than 10 years.

What is the role of the increase of the number of people at the economic production age in achieving the target of quadrupling the total industrial and agricultural output value? I think we must make a dialectical analysis on this issue. Over the past 30 years and more since the founding of the state, the population growth has been comparatively rapid in our country. As a result, the growth of labor force has also been rapid. Since there are limited cultivated lands in our country and the growth of fixed assets is also limited, this has caused great difficulties in employment. The rapid increase of labor force has thus become a prominent problem in the population issue. In view of this, it is better that the population at the economic production age will not be increased, or rather, will be reduced a little, in the future. This is our hope. However, since the age structure of our population is relatively younger, in the coming 20 years or so, there will be more people at the marriage and reproduction age. There is an obvious increasing trend in this respect. According to the above-mentioned second plan, the population will continue to increase before 2023, or according to the third plan, it will continue to increase before 2006. For this reason, the population at the economic production age will also continue to increase for a time. In view of this unchangeable fact, the only correct attitude we must take should be: trying in every possible way to make use of the labor force resources of the population at the economic production age while making great efforts to control the growth of the total population and the population at the economic production age. The experiences of modernization gained by some countries, especially by some Asian countries and regions, tell us that making full use of cheap labor in a country is an important condition for the high-speed economic development in that country. Japan and Singapore are good examples of this. It is necessary for us to take active measures, under the present conditions, to raise the scientific, cultural and technological levels of the laborers, to develop more professionalized labor-intensive type trades, and to exploit the profound latent potentiality of labor forces. Obviously, this does not mean that it is better to have more labor forces, but means that on the premise that the general scope of the population is fixed, it is better to have more people at the economic production age.

Third, it is necessary to point out that the role of the "golden age" in regard to the age structure of the population will differ when the plans based on different birth rates are carried out. According to the plan based on a higher birth rate, the rate of the people at a subordinate age will drop by 20 percent from 1978 to 2000. According to the plan based on the medium birth rate, it will drop by 26 percent. According to the plan based on a lower birth rate, it will drop by 29 percent. This shows that the better we do our work to control population growth, the lower the proportion of the population at the subordinate age will be, the less money the state will have to pay for the consumption of the people at the subordinate age, and the more funds we shall save which will be more conducive to the modernization drive. Under such conditions, the larger proportion of the population at the economic production age will show a higher level of the "golden age." Now family planning has been stressed in the country's fundamental law and has become a fundamental national policy known by all. It can be

expected that there will be an evident decline in the birth rate in the future. If the birth rate continues to decline, there will be an inevitable trend of decline in the rate of the population at a subordinate age, which will be conducive to the development of the national economy. We must strengthen our family planning work and conscientiously take advantage of the above-mentioned coming "golden age" to strive for the realization of the target of quadrupling the total industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE ON GOVERNMENT SERVING PEOPLE

HK220805 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1258 GMT 21 Jun 83

[Commentary by Reporter Ling Hongjun [0407 1347 0193]: "The Government Serving the People Has Boldness of Vision and Insight"--ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE headline]

[Text] The resolution on the "Government Work Report" made by Premier Zhao Ziyang which was adopted today by the First Session of the Sixth NPC pointed out: "In his report, while affirming the achievements scored in the last 5 years, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out the shortcomings of, and difficulties still existing at present in, the government work. The report is therefore practical and realistic." As far as the question of the improvement of the people's livelihood is concerned, any observer who adopts a just, objective attitude toward what has been going on in China can see that the last 5 years, the government has overcome untold difficulties with surpassing bravery and has displayed the boldness of vision and insight which a government really serving the people should have.

One of the most outstanding achievements of the last government in economic affairs is that a turn for the better has been brought about in the difficult situation in which agriculture has developed haltingly or has stagnated for many years. In the last few years, the gross output value of agricultural production has increased at a speed unprecedented in the past, thus giving impetus to the development of the national economy as a whole. In a big country like China, whose agricultural population constitutes four-fifths of the total national population, the rejuvenation of agriculture has played a tremendous role in bringing about a political situation characterized by stability and unity and in activating the economy.

According to statistics, the average per-capita net income of peasants throughout the country in the last 5 years increased by 100 percent and the average annual income for living expenses of every member of urban staff and workers families showed an increase of 38.3 percent. What merits attention is that compared with the yearly average increase of 7.5 percent in the gross output value of agricultural production in the last 5 years and that of 7.2 percent in the gross output value of industrial production, the increase in the living standard of urban and rural population is obviously much higher. The increase in the level of income of the peasants has attracted attention

far and wide. The root of this state of affairs lies in the fact that while encountering fairly great financial difficulties, the state raised by a big margin the purchasing prices of agricultural and sideline products, increased the import of grain and reduced the state purchase quotas of some localities, thus enabling the peasants to rest and to build up strength. Compared with 1978, the increase in the purchasing prices of agricultural and sideline products in 1982 alone brought the peasants an additional income of 26 billion yuan. Consequently, the state allotted huge amounts of funds to such areas as the expansion of employment, wage increases, price subsidies, and the large-scale building of houses for staff members and workers in the cities and towns. This has brought about a marked improvement in the livelihood of urban dwellers. It can be said that in these 5 years, the government has indeed done its utmost to bring material benefits to the people and to take the difficulties on itself.

To adopt measures like this really requires a political boldness of vision and insight. Over the last few years, the worldwide economic crisis has engulfed every corner of the world. For the sake of their own interests, the people in power in quite a number of countries have not hesitated to adopt the methods of shifting the crisis to the people and tiding over the difficulties by lowering the living standard of the people. By contrasting the said two cases, do people not have more reasons to call the Chinese Government's a government serving the people?

While implementing the above-mentioned policies, the Chinese Government is, of course, soberly aware of the difficulties implied in them. Owing to the "leftist" mistakes in our guiding ideology, there have existed for quite some time all kinds of difficulties in the people's livelihood. In view of this state of affairs, the state has made Herculean efforts to solve these problems. With the turn for the better in the state's economic situation, must some of the methods which we have practiced in the last few years for improving the people's standards of living be continued? For example, the price subsidies for farm produce and other subsidies which the state is undertaking at present have reached 32 billion yuan and with the high-speed development of agricultural production, these subsidies will increase, if no proper measures are adopted, by a big margin and reach a level that the state's financial abilities are unable to undertake. The increase in the wages, bonuses, and welfare funds of the staff members and workers will be hard to continue if it surpasses the increase in the profits created by the enterprises and in the taxes they deliver to the state.

We must feed the people and build the country. In the preceding 5 years we had relatively great difficulties in feeding the people and so it was entirely necessary to give more consideration to the question of feeding the people. Now things have changed considerably. Can we give consideration to the relationship between building the country and feeding the people in a more appropriate manner? It is precisely because of this that in his report,

Premier Zhao Ziyang emphatically pointed out that the rational distribution of the national income and the appropriate increase of the proportion of state revenue in the national income should be regarded as an extremely important task in the government work and should be part of the order of the day.

The report has not only formulated the concrete methods and measures for solving the aforesaid problems but has also continued to list the continued improvement of the well-being of the people in both urban and rural areas as one of the three major tasks of economic construction in the next 5 years. It can thus be seen that the Chinese Government has made a careful study of the relationship between feeding the people and building the country. It can be expected that the relationship between the two can be handled in a more satisfactory way in the coming 5 years.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

JINGJI RIBAO DISCUSSES STRENGTHENING RURAL POLITICAL WORK

HK210848 Beijing JINGJI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jun 83 p 3

[Commentator's article: "Conscientiously Study Document No 2 of the CPC Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPC Central Committee issued a "circular on certain questions relating to the present economic policies in rural areas" (document No 2). These are two important documents for guiding the rural work as a whole at the present time and for a considerable period of time in the future. The latter is the key to a deep understanding of the former and the guarantee of implementing the former even better; they complement each other. We should in no way judge the two documents by thinking that economic work is a "real job" and political work a "cushy job." And we should not focus only on economic policies and neglect political and ideological work. The building of socialist material and spiritual civilization must be carried out simultaneously, as each shines more brilliantly in the other's company. Only by so doing will we be able to carry out rural work along the path of socialism and create a new situation in agricultural modernization. For this reason, we hereby wish to reprint for study the excerpts of the "circular on strengthening political and ideological work in rural areas" issued by the CPC Central Committee, which has been published in the pamphlet--"Newsletter on Rural Work."

Today, when the rural economy is making a lot of headway, is it still necessary to carry out political and ideological work among peasants? This is still a nagging question in the minds of some of our comrades engaged in rural work. They say that since the introduction of the responsibility system in agriculture, the output of agricultural production has increased by a big margin, farm products have become more abundant than before, and peasant's standards of living have greatly improved, thus efforts should be made only to implement economic policies, and it is not necessary to stress political and ideological work. It is not right for them to think in this way.

A correct appraisal of the present situation for peasants must be made. Through socialist transformation and long-term education of the party after liberation, peasants in the China of today have become new-type working people living under the system of socialist cooperation. Especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, inspired by the correct party line, principles and policies, the broad sections of peasants, with unbounded enthusiasm and initiative, have continuously made new contributions to the four modernizations. Many peasants sell more grain to the state when they reap more, they often keep fellow villagers in mind even though they get rich, they take the interests of the whole into account, and they know how to properly handle the relationship between the state, the collective, and the individual. We are happy to see that a new generation of peasants is constantly emerging. Nevertheless, as a result of the unending existence of class struggle to a certain extent and the influences of the traditional private ownership mentality of small producers, and due to a lack of political and ideological work in some places, the ideas of "casting eyes only on money," feathering one's nest at public expense, and benefitting oneself at the expense of others have welled up among a small number of peasants, and such harmful tendencies as superstition, gambling, theft, robbery, and fighting with tools, as well as other backward maladies, have seized the opportunity to crop up. If we are indifferent to such a situation and do not put a stop to it, we will inevitably go astray from the correct path toward socialism. We must, therefore, have an overall and clear understanding of the above two aspects.

The correctness of the responsibility system in agricultural production has been proved by the practice of millions and millions of peasants over the past few years. The party's policies of the rural economy must be strictly carried out, and the enthusiasm of peasants for getting rich through labor must be truly protected. However, we should not concentrate our efforts only on the implementation of economic policies. Only when political and ideological work is followed up will these policies really be implemented. The building of socialist spiritual civilization must be strengthened in the countryside and ideological education in communism must be carried out among the broad sections of peasants. This will help them get rid of old conventions and narrow-mindedness so as to foster revolutionary ideals and morality. It will also be helpful to the increasing development of the socialist new-type relationship between individuals, between the individual and the collective and state, and between the collectives. Leading organs at various levels in rural areas must persistently carry out the building of the "two civilizations" and place political and ideological work as a major item on the agenda.

After setting things to right over the past few years, many localities have created a number of new methods in carrying out political and ideological work in the countryside. These new methods pay attention to integrating theory with practice, aiming at solving problems concerning the thinking and livelihood of peasants, judging something by having reason to go by instead of judging it as it stands, and solving ideological problems of the masses by giving care to their livelihood. At present, it is of great importance to strengthen cultural construction in rural areas (such as

promoting educational undertakings; building cultural centers, and unfolding scientific, technological, and cultural activities). This constitutes a major part in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. A higher level of cultural and scientific knowledge among peasants provides major conditions for the growth of the rural economy, the stabilization of the output-related system of contracted responsibilities in agricultural production, and developing agricultural production by emphasizing specialized jobs and service to society. This also provides major conditions for heightening the consciousness and morality of peasants. It is because getting rid of ignorance, backwardness, and an uncivilized state must depend on the popularization of education and a high level of cultural knowledge. Meanwhile, a high level of communist consciousness among peasants must be established on the good foundation of their cultural and scientific knowledge. Lenin said: "We must master all sciences, technologies, knowledge, and arts. Without these, we can hardly build a communist society." Cultural construction is a problem of far-reaching strategic significance, and an effective measure to strengthen political and ideological work in the countryside. We must attach great importance to it.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO ON POLICYMAKING ON SCIENTIFIC BASIS

HK211524 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jun 83 p 6

[Report by reporter Ai Feng: "We Are Becoming More Intelligent--Sidelights of the Sixth NPC"]

[Text] Making policy is one of the important duties of the leaders. It is only natural that the representatives of the people concern themselves with and supervise how their own government makes and implements its strategic decisions.

It is still fresh in the people's minds that in the last few years, some delegates to the NPC address inquiries to the government departments and criticized some of the latter's faults and errors in economic policymaking and the masses of the people were also not very pleased with the slow progress made by some leaders in their "studies" whom the masses had paid a "tuition fee." At this people's congress, while affirming the advances made by the government in this respect, some deputies raised some questions about government work and placed their hopes on the government.

We Are Good at Learning

Comrade Dou Guoren, deputy director of the Nanjing research institute of water conservancy and a deputy to the Sixth NPC, is a river silt expert. From the early 1970's, he took part in the scientific research work of the Gezhouba project. The institute where he works is now undertaking the scientific research mission of the project of diverting water from the south to the north. From his personal experience, he found that there was a contrast in the process of different policy decisions of the two projects. The Gezhouba project was rashly undertaken in 1970 while the major questions of silt, geology, damming and navigation had not been ascertained. Not long after the construction of the project was started, difficult problems piled up. In June 1971 he made a report on the silt question to the investigation group under the State Council so that it knew the opinions of many specialists on this question. The result of rash policymaking was that we had to blow up the embankment bases which were not up to standard and to redesign and reconstruct them. The waste was enormous.

"At that time, Premier Zhou, who presided over a discussion, held that all hollow, proud words in the face of making a strategic decision for so important a project are meaningless and that what we need is science," said deputy Dou Guoren." The making of the policy of diverting water from the south to the north is different from the case of Gezhouba. It was made after repeated deliberations of the problems which may possibly crop up and of the various plans."

Comrade Yao Bangyi, a person in charge of the office of diverting water from the south to the north under the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power, briefed reporters on the concrete situation of the project in this way: At the end of 1977, at a national meeting on scientific and technical planning, the specialists discussed the plan for diverting water from the south to the north and raised a lot of queries on it. In July 1978, the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power again called the departments concerned together to discuss the plan which was then basically approved; in 1979, the society of water conservancy held a discussion but the policymaking was postponed owing to wide differences and growing doubts. In 1980 and 1981, north China suffered drought and there was a lack of water in Beijing, Tianjin, and as a result, the demand for diverting water from the south to the north again became urgent. In November 1982 and January 1983, in accordance with Premier Zhao Ziyang's written instructions, after deliberation by the specialists in all fields and restudy by the departments concerned of the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power and by the provinces and cities concerned, the State Council approved the "report on the feasibility studies of the first stage of eastern route project of diverting water from the south to the north," a report submitted by the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power, and decided to first carry the Changjiang River water to the four lakes in Jiangsu and Shandong Provinces along the Beijing-Hangzhou grand canal and then divert the water to Jining in Shandong Province. Is there actually a lack of water in the north? Can this project be replaced by the diversion of the Huanghe River water? What are the virtues and defects of the three plans for diverting water to the north from the west, the central, and the east? Can the diversion of water from the south to the north expand the areas affected by snail fever? Can this diversion disrupt the ecological balance of the areas along its course? What influence will it exert on the Changjiang River estuary? This plan was not decided before we had gotten fairly satisfactory answers to the questions listed above. While carrying out the first stage projects of first diverting water to Jining, we can make use of the existing river courses and thus risk fewer dangers. This can furnish practical experience to the northern section of the water diversion project which has not yet been determined due to much controversy.

In the last 6 years, we have gained a clear idea of six important questions by taking six steps in our endeavor to move water from the south to the north. These three "sixes" represent the summarization of the process of making the policy decision of the first stage of the eastern route projects

of diverting water from the south to the north. They show that with our past experience and lessons, we have just become and are becoming more intelligent. In his government work report, Premier Zhao Ziyang said: "We must always keep a clear head and steadfastly uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts and the construction principle of achieving the steady advance of the economy. This is a primary condition for guaranteeing the continued development of the present fine situation and avoiding following the same old disastrous road." Moreover, a correct policy decision is an embodiment of the spirit of realism and a precondition for the steady advance of the economy. This has been realized by more and more people.

#### We Must Take the Road of Making Policy on a Scientific Basis

As far as small production is concerned, a well-experienced head of a family can make an adequate policy decision on production by "patting his own head." As for modern mass production and the complicated present-day economy, it is difficult, more often than not, to make a correct policy decision by relying on the wisdom of a leading body, still less by relying on a leader. To make a correct policy decision in this respect requires that correct theories, knowledge both Chinese and foreign, ancient and modern, the information of all fields of endeavor, and local actual conditions must be "dissolved in a stove." Consequently, policymaking itself has become an individual branch of learning. Some deputies hold that what is worthy of rejoicing over is that in leading economic construction, China's leading departments are beginning to take the road of making policy on a scientific footing.

"Although we are economically backward, our economic thinking must not be backward," said Comrade Shi Shan, member of the law committee of the Sixth NPC and adviser to the Chinese scientific research center of the agricultural development. Then he cited several important changes in the policymaking thinking of China's leading organs.

The relationship between policies and science has been correctly understood. We must rely on correct policies on the one hand and rely on the use of science on the other hand. Relying on correct policies also means, in the final analysis, relying on the use of science. Policies belong to the field of social sciences.

The relationship between man and nature has been correctly understood. In the past we had a one-sided understanding of battling against nature and of "confronting the heavens with toughness." It was plain enough that there was no water underground but people insisted on drilling wells everywhere; it was clear that the hillsides were precipitous but people insisted on reclaiming land by destroying trees. As a result, man and nature suffered disaster. At present, the concept of conquering the natural world as an alien force is being replaced by the concept that man and nature must develop in a harmonious way as an integral whole. Protecting the ecological balance and natural resources constitutes a prerequisite for developing agriculture. It serves as proof that these ideas have been inscribed in the documents of the CPC Central Committee.

Today it has become a basic work method for leading cadres to conscientiously heed the opinions of the specialists and give full play to the role of intellectuals in terms of policymaking. While looking around in present-day China, we can see that academic meetings of all types have replaced the previous endless mass criticism meetings; the scene in which the sky was overcast with "big sticks" and "political labels" has long been replaced by the atmosphere of earnestly learning from each other by exchanging views. The reporter has the experience of participating in a series of such meetings, some of which were held by learned societies and some were jointly organized by learned societies and responsible departments and some were held to explore and discuss development strategies; some were held to study certain policies, and still others were held to carry out deliberations on programs or plans. At these meetings, leaders and scientists were kindly shaking hands; efforts were being made to integrate democracy with science; natural and social sciences were "infiltrating each other"; and attempts were being made to achieve harmony in the contention of a hundred schools of thought and the unified making of policy decisions. These new scenes are indeed exciting!

#### Making Policy on a Scientific Basis Remains an Urgent Problem

Of course, some deputies also pointed out: Our country has just started its work in this field and we must not overestimate what has been achieved in this respect; some leaders are still not so familiar with the practice of making policy on a scientific basis as they are familiar with the practice of "patting their own heads"; and very few are even indifferent to and disgusted with the warm proposals of the specialists.

It must still be noted more that our policymaking is being faced with complicated subjects. A deputy who has been engaged for many years in policy research work said to the reporter that at present particular attention should be paid to the policymaking question in the following three ways: 1) Capital construction. During the "First 5-Year Plan" period, any major project should undergo several days of discussion under the leadership of Premier Zhou. The situation at present is more complicated. This requires that all major projects must be more carefully thought out. Major projects must be put under overall planning and investment peaks must be staggered. 2) Reforms in all fields. Reforms in all fields must be steadily conducted through experiments. Experiments provide a basis and reference material for making policy and experimental work must also be improved in the light of the requirements of making policy on a scientific basis. The basis for making policy is naturally not confined to experiments. 3) The utilization of foreign funds. In using foreign funds, we must give consideration to what we can do at home, that is, to our ability to provide the necessary accessories and to the recovery period of the use of funds.

Chang Zhongli, deputy to the Sixth NPC and deputy director of the Institute of Economics under the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, who has lived abroad for many years, held the opinion that there is much in the methods of developed countries in this respect that we can make use of. Under their

presidents there are colossal braintrusts, and in society there are specialized advisory bodies, for example, the Lan De [5695 1795] Corporation in the United States. These bodies are in the service of policy making. Our country has begun to pay attention to the work in this field and has set up some investigation and study organizations and advisory bodies. This is quite necessary. He said: "I was very excited when I was informed that our state leaders had held frequent contacts with the specialists of these scientific research bodies." He also described how the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences set up its advisory department. He proposed that the organization in this respect be significantly augmented because it is the organizational basis for making policy on a scientific basis.

Some deputies still pointed out: There exists simultaneously two phenomena in our state organs: On the one hand, there are people available for work and on the other hand, there is no work to be done; and on the one hand, there are jobs to be undertaken and on the other, there are no people readily available to do them. Investigation, study work, and advisory work are the departments which are short of people and which call for further augmentation. Why do we not muster and train more people to undertake this, which is now in ascendant? It is justifiable to say that this is entirely feasible.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO REBUTS 'MARXIST HUMANITARIANISM'

HK240607 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Yang Bing [2799 2671]: "Marx, Engels, and Humanitarianism"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] [Abstract] This article holds that, before the publication of "Theses on Feuerbach," Marx and Engels were in the transition from idealism to materialism. On the one hand, they absorbed humanitarianism from Feuerbach, and, on the other, when discussing the problem of human nature, they showed quite a lot of contradictory viewpoints. Nevertheless, they were never humanitarians. They began to rigorously criticize humanitarianism from the writing of "Manifesto of the Communist Party," and showed no more of the contradiction in their thought which had been witnessed in the previous period. The method of analysis advocated by Marx is based on economic reality rather than on the concept of man. [end abstract]

I

Is there a "Marxist humanitarianism?"--This has been the focus of the dispute over humanitarianism in the last few years. Some people give an affirmative answer to this question, but [phrase indistinct]. Those articles which represent the affirmative viewpoint quote some words of Marx and Engels, in particular some words of the young Marx. "Manuscripts on Economic and Philosophy Written in 1844," is most frequently quoted. However, these works of Marx and Engels are not quoted in a balanced manner. And the quotations are interpreted in such a way as to support the quoters' own arguments. Therefore, in fact, the quoters were elaborating their own viewpoints, which should not be regarded as the actual viewpoints of Marx and Engels in their time. And, naturally, such interpretations as theirs do not support their claim to "Marxist humanitarianism." In my opinion, when elaborating the viewpoints of the founders of Marxism, one should not be based on one's own subjective desire but on the true theory and the actual practice of the founders. One should give overall consideration to the whole life of the founders, conscientiously finding out in which periods of their life and in what way they mentioned humanitarianism, as well as how their understanding changed in different periods. Only in light of a comprehensive assessment of their works can we judge the truthfulness of the argument concerning "Marxist humanitarianism."

## II

In Spring of 1848, Marx wrote "These on Feuerbach," in which he put forth, for the first time in the history of philosophy, the brilliant concept of /interpreting and transforming/ the world with /revolutionary practice./ In his later years, Engels repeatedly emphasized that this concept was "the first document which, as a hallmark, carried within itself the marvellous seeds of the new world outlook" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 208-209) and the "origin" of historical materialism. ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 24) Before the publication of the "Theses," they were in the transition from idealism to materialism and from democratism to communism. The remains of the past, the basis of the present, and the seeds of the future coexisted in their thought.

One of the important aspects of the past was those humanitarian ideas which were accepted, together with materialist thought, from Feuerbach. Sometimes, Marx even linked humanitarianism with communism. Such a phenomenon was particularly obvious in "Manuscripts on Economics and Philosophy Written in 1884," which stated that /"Communism/ is a /positive sublate of private property--the self-alienation of man,"/ and a "return of man to himself and to /society/ (that is, man)." "Such communism, as perfected naturalism, is equivalent to humanitarianism; and, as perfected humanitarianism, is equivalent to naturalism." (Ibid., Vol 42, p 120) "Holy Family," which was published later, begins with the following sentence: "In Germany, to the /real humanitarianism,/ there is no enemy more dangerous than /spiritualism/, that is, /speculative idealism."/ (Ibid., Vol 2, p 7) The obvious existence here of humanitarianism in Marx' and Engels' thought is undeniable.

However, there is another aspect: When discussing the nature of man, they showed quite a lot of contradictory viewpoints. First, concerning the relationship between the natural and social attributes of man. On some occasions, Marx clearly distinguished between these two types of attributes. He said: "The clear purpose embodied in the activities of a living man separates him from animals," eating, drinking, the sexual act, and so on are only the "animal functions" of man. He did not agree with "separating these functions from man's other activities," nor with regarding them as the "ultimate and unique goals" of life. (Ibid., Vol 42, pp 96, 94) At the same time, he also emphasized the relations between the male and female in such a manner as if these relations are the nature of man, stating that these relations /"Show/ to what extent the nature of man becomes part of nature or to what extent nature in its turn becomes part of the nature of man." Here, he classified the nature of man as the natural attribute of man and linked it with humanitarianism. (See "Manuscripts on Economics and Philosophy Written in 1944") [as printed]

Similar contradictory phenomena can also be found in other manuscripts and articles published by Marx and Engels in that period. For example, on the one hand, Marx correctly criticized the concept of "special personality" put forth by Hegel, pointing out that this personality is "in substance" the "social characteristics" of man. In what form do these "social characteristics" of man "exist and work?" What are the functions of state,

and so on? On two occasions, he defined the nature of man quite clearly and precisely: "Man is the /world of man,/ the state, and the society"; the nature of man "is not his beard, blood, and the abstract natural instincts of his body." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 270, 452) On the other hand, however, he held that /"the substance of man/ is precisely the /real community/ of men," (Ibid., p 487) "The fundamentality of man is man himself," /"man is the most essential nature of man."/ ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 9) and so on. Again, this viewpoint contradicts the above-mentioned one. Similar contradiction can also be found in "Outline of the Critique of Political Economy" by Engels. Its correct aspects were later appraised as "an outline of talent in the field of critical economics." (Ibid., Vol 2, p 83) However, traces of humanitarianism can also be seen in this outline. In this "Outline," Engels pointed out that humanitarianism was the spirit of the 18th century. But he still used this outdated ideological weapon to criticize capitalism, accusing capitalism of "opposing free human nature." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, [page indistinct])

However, Marx and Engels totally differed from their teacher Feuerbach on one key point--their starting point.

"Let us start from the /present/ economic facts," Marx said. (Ibid., Vol 42, p 90) So, they differed from Feuerbach, who took the concept of "Man" as his starting point.

The /present/ economic facts! Marx put a mark of emphasis on the word "present." This meant that he was not discussing the problem ambiguously but in relation to a certain historical period. The present economic facts were nothing but exactly the exploitation of labor by capital. As Marx pointed out, capital is converted from commodities produced by workers with their labor, so capital is therefore the "possession of the products of others' labor," the "/right of control/ over labor and its products." (Ibid., pp 91, 62) Under the control of capital, "workers are reduced to the status of slaves of capital," and are regarded merely as [phrase indistinct] "completely equivalent to horses." (Ibid., pp 52, 57, 56) The products made by workers with their own labor are not their property but are turned instead into an alien force against them. It is just because workers' labor is alienated that the workers share less and less fruit of their labor while working more and more. The greater the value the workers create, the less value they themselves have. Workers build up palaces for the rich but slums for themselves. "Labor creates beauty, but makes workers lopsided." "The better the products the workers produce, the more lopsided they will become." However, the confrontation between labor and capital is not an eternal relationship but has its limit. As soon as it reaches the limit, "The whole private ownership system will develop to its extreme and its highest level, and will then come to an end." Then comes the emancipation of workers which "embodies the liberation of the whole of mankind." (Ibid., pp 91, 92, 106, 101)

Thus it can be seen that as soon as Marx based himself on the present economic facts, and made a concrete analysis of the contradiction embodied in the exploitation of labor by capital, he managed to reveal the instinctive class attributes of the worker and the capitalist, cast away the concept of abstract

and common human nature, and thus drew a revolutionary conclusion from such an analysis. Engels did the same thing, too. Based entirely on the present economic facts, his book, "The State of the British Working Class," exposed the shamelessly greedy characteristics of capitalists and pointed out that the "human sentiments" of workers and the "most moving, noblest, and most humane characteristics" of workers are nothing but their intention to resist. The terms, such as "human sentiments," "the most humane characteristics," and so on appear not to imply class character. But, in substance, all these are the class attributes of workers. He also came to the same conclusion: "Revolution is /inevitable."/ (Ibid., Vol 2, pp 501, 586) In the following paragraphs, we will see that Marx and Engels soon gave up humanitarianism and took a critical attitude toward it. This was because they had taken a correct orientation just at the first stage, that is, at their starting point.

### III

"Manifesto of the Communist Party" published in February 1848, "presented a new world outlook in a [word indistinct] lucid, and clear style." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 578) This was the first programmatic document of the international communist movement, as well as the mark indicating the end of Marx' and Engels youth period and the beginning of their mature stage. Although the 3 years between the publication of "Theses on Feuerbach" and that of the "Manifesto" was still a stage of transition for them, their changes during this period were much more drastic than in the previous period. Now they were holding a "negative" attitude toward their previous philosophical faith (Marx: "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 84), in which humanitarianism played a role. At this stage, the ideological contradiction which characterized the previous stage disappeared.

Feuerbach was the first to be criticized. Marx pointed out that this philosopher's understanding of the nature of man was wrong because he observed religious passion in isolation, with the process of history being ignored, and thus interpreted man as an abstract and isolated individual and as a so-called "category" formed by many individuals who are linked together in a purely natural manner. Marx said: "The nature of man is not the abstract of the instinct characters of individuals. In a sense of reality, it is the sum of all social relations." (Ibid., Vol 1, p 18) Thus, he resolutely turned down the possibility of classifying the nature of man as a natural attribute, and overcame his wavering between the concepts of social attributes and natural attributes. He resolutely classified the nature of man as a social attribute--the sum of all social relations which existed in reality. This scientific conclusion of Marx marked his break with his teacher.

At that time, on the problem of humanitarianism, Marx and Engels mainly criticized Germany's "genuine socialists," whose total skill, just as described by Engels, was [words indistinct] "mix up the German philosophy, the sentimental feelings of the German-type mediocre persons and some distorted communist slogans." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 46) They harmfully advocated humanitarianism, saying that "in the final analysis, communism and socialism are melted into humanitarianism" and

"it is necessary to achieve communism in order to achieve humanitarianism." They not only engaged in theoretical propaganda, but also spread such ideas among the workers movement, playing "a formidable role of relaxing people's will to fight." (Ibid., Vol 27, p 46) These people who "greatly feared" all large-scale mass movement and gigantic social movement even taught the proletariat "not to take part in political revolution forever." Therefore, Engels pointed out that such "genuine socialists" were "reactionary from head to foot." (Ibid., Vol 4, p 48) Hence, he and Marx spent great efforts to criticize this ideological trend. While criticizing Kriege, they revealed that Kriege, under the banner of communism, advocated "humanity," "people living in harmony," "perpetual spirit of generality existing everywhere," and the somniloquy, nonsense and religion of "love." If "this absurd and sentimental somniloquy" is accepted by workers, they will become "low spirited." (Ibid., Vol 4, pp 3-17). While criticizing Grun's book "A Comment on Goethe From the Viewpoint of a Human Being," Engels pointed out that Grun, refraining from talking about Goethe's greatness, did his utmost to exaggerate Goethe's mediocre character, saying that it was "the belonging of a human being." Engels contended that Goethe was a "people's poet" who possessed "perfect human nature." He sharply pointed out that Grun's book had provided "good evidence," proving that /"human being/ equals German petty bourgeoisie." (Ibid., Vol 27, p 89) Marx and Engels censured and refuted the fallacy that a "genuine socialist" without exception seeks abstract human nature, or the "generality of human beings." Grun said: "Human nature is none other than activity." Engels said: "This nature is shared by human beings and all fleas." (Ibid., Vol 4, p 273). Ze-Mi-Xi [3419 4717 1585] said: "All disputes on the problem of name are settled under /humanitarianism./ Why should we divide ourselves into communists or socialists? We are /human beings./ Marx and Engels said: "Why are there the names of human being, animal, plant and rock? We are all substances." (Ibid., Vol 3, p 551)

Another kind of object being criticized at that time was the humanity faction and the fraternity faction, both belonging to the economics faction of the bourgeoisie. Marx pointed out that the humanity faction merely hoped to mitigate class contradictions, hence advised capitalist who engaged in fierce competition to alleviate their enthusiasm for developing production and advised workers to know their place, to work hard and to give birth to children as little as possible. Whereas the fraternity faction was a "perfect humanity faction." It neglected all contradictions and only hoped to turn all people into capitalists. (Ibid., Vol 4, p 157)

Marx also criticized Heinzen, a petty-bourgeois illusionist who advocated "humanizing society." Heinzen only recognized "people" and "human beings," but did not recognize classes. He recognized abstract human nature, but did not recognize concrete class nature. He only recognized "people's party," but did not recognize a party of class. He also attacked communists for their partiality in "not looking at people, but only at classes." Marx pointed out the essence of Heinzen's theory: "It forces all classes to vanish in front of the fervent idea of "human nature.'" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 183)

Facts speak louder than eloquent words. It is a recorded historical fact that Marx and Engels severely criticized humanitarianism during that period. The time when the idea of humanitarianism imperiled the proletariat most was also the time when the scientific world outlook of Marx and Engels was being rapidly established. One of the important requirements for the establishment was repudiating these erroneous ideas, but not having faith in them. If they had faith in humanitarianism, how could Marxism emerge?

#### IV

During the 14 years from the publication of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," to 1862 Marx and Engels occasionally criticized humanitarianism in some of their works.

The first criticism appeared in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," which pointed out that "small reformists" such as bourgeois humanitarianists and fraternity advocates merely hoped to eliminate the defects of the bourgeois society with an aim "to protect the existence of a bourgeois society." (Ibid., Vol 1, p 280) It also pointed out that the "genuine socialists" "do not represent the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of human nature, that is, the interests of ordinary people, who do not belong to any particular class, do not exist in our realistic world, but exist in the cloudy, misty space of philosophical fantasy." "The Manifesto" said that the German Government of feudal rulers used ruthless guns and leather-thonged whips to suppress the workers' uprisings, [word indistinct] the "genuine socialism" was the "sweetest supplement" to such guns and leather-thonged whips. (Ibid., Vol 1, pp 278-279)

During that period, Marx criticized France's utopian socialists who "talk idly about spirit, education and liberty with a humanitarian attitude, and wish to eliminate revolutionary class struggle and all necessary expression," "with light means and strong sentimental feelings." (Ibid., Vol 1, pp 479, 644)

During that period, Marx and Engels also ruthlessly ridiculed reactionaries of various countries on the problem of humanitarianism.

For example, they pointed out that Wen-di-si-ge-lei-ci, [2429 6611 2457 2806 7191 [figure indistinct]] Marshal of the Austrian empire and a butcher who ferociously suppressed the people's uprisings, was a "saintly disciple of humanitarianism." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 6, pp 83-84) They also pointed out that "just like liberty in France, humanitarianism has now become an export of political merchants in Britain." (Ibid., Vol 15, p 538)

#### V

During the 8 years from 1863 to 1871, Marx and Engels did not mention humanitarianism in their works or correspondence. From 1872 to 1890, they several times mentioned humanitarianism and the problem of proceeding from a "human being."

In March and April 1872, Marx drafted a manuscript on the problem of land nationalization, pointing out that the land nationalization of the proletariat actually meant the "practicing of socialism," and "the thorough elimination of the capitalist mode of production in industry and agriculture." "This was the goal which the great economic movement of the 19th century led to." (Ibid., Vol 18, p 67) Originally, a "humanitarian goal" was written on the manuscript, but the word "humanitarian" was later deleted. Marx drafted the manuscript for Dupont, responsible person of the Manchester Branch of the First International. When Dupont read it at the branch association, there was not the word "humanitarian." Later he published it in the "International Pioneer Paper," totally identical to Marx' manuscript which had been kept.

From 1879 to 1880, answering Adolph Wagner, a German bourgeois economist, who argued that Marx proceeded from "human being," Marx finally referred to his own starting point. He said: My method of /analysis/ was not proceeding from the human being, /but from a particular social and economic period."/ (Ibid., Vol 19, p 415)

/"Human being?"/ Mark asked the question in reply.

He then raised three ifs. First, "if it refers to the category of 'general human being,' he has absolutely no need." Second, "if it refers to a human being who stands isolated in front of the nature, he should be considered as an animal not living in groups." Third, Marx pointed out the essence of the problem, that is, if it refers to a human being living in any kind of social form, then he must possess the "particular nature of a social human, that is, the nature of the society where he is living. Because, here, production, that is, /the process in which he obtains the means of living,/ already bears social nature of one kind or another." (Ibid., Vol 19, p 404)

Here, Marx objected to abstractly talking about "general human beings" regardless of particular historical conditions, and to treating social human beings as animals not living in groups. He clearly pointed out the internal links between "the particular nature of a human being" and "the particular nature of a society," and that it was impossible to talk about abstract human nature without consideration to particular nature of a society. Then, by what is a particular social nature and human nature decided? "Production, that is, the process by which people obtain the means of living." And the production of the human race has been and will always be conducted through the establishment of a certain mode of production between one human being and the other. The essence of the mode of production is none other than the ownership of the means of production, which decides not only social nature but also human nature. It is the lifeblood of a human being. Whether or not a particular means of production's mastered, if so, how it should be used, if one's means of production is taken away, whether or how it should be regained, and so on; All these decide everything, including political, marital, family, religious, educational and friendship relations between human beings. That is why Lenin pointed out later that Marx' method "was to carve out the economic field from various fields of social life, and /production relations/ from all social relations, and to treat them as the basic and original

relationships governing all other relationships." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 118) The nature of a human being is, in reality, the sum total of all social relations, and is, in fact, the sum total of all social relations which treat the relationship of production as original, basic and decisive relations. No ownership of the means of production [word indistinct], nor are all social relations, nor is human nature. There exists no common human nature which is applicable at all times, in all places and under all conditions, so we cannot discuss human nature proceeding from a "human being." Although a series of descriptions, such as a social human being, a realistic human being, and a practical human being, are added, we cannot extol capitalists exploiting workers--the exploitation of human by human. As both the former and latter are social human beings, which one will you proceed from? If you leave aside the relations of production under a particular historical period and the relations between certain people and particular means of production in that period, you will lose your grounds and prerequisite for understanding the problem.

In 1886, Engels, in his "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy," once again criticized Feuerbach's starting point from a "human being," and further pointed out that "the worship of abstract human being" was "the core of Feuerbach's new religion." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 237)

In February 1890, Engels for the last time commented on the historical change of humanitarianism. Commenting on the book "Thomas More and His Utopianism" written by Kautsky, Engels pointed out that the book indicated "how the first form of the bourgeois enlightenment movement, that is, the humanitarianism of the 15th and 16th centuries, became the Jesuit spirit of Catholicism in further development." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 24) This related to the truth of the world outlook of dialectical materialism which Engels had repeatedly expounded: "Everything is moving, changing, emerging and vanishing," "nothing is immutable and motionless." (Ibid., Vol 20, p 23) Everything exists as a process, and the whole world is but "a combination of all processes." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 240)

The version of "Marxist humanitarianism" is without good grounds in Marxist works.

CSO: 4005/924

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING CPC CIRCULAR ON DISCIPLINE VIOLATION

HK170950 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 83 [no page given]

[Report: "Beijing Municipal CPC Discipline Inspection Committee Issues Circular on Violation of Discipline by Chaoyang No 2 Shirt Factory"]

[Text] Recently, the Beijing Municipal CPC Discipline Inspection Committee issued a circular on violation of discipline by the Chaoyang No 2 Shirt Factory. The circular said: The case of the Chaoyang No 2 Shirt Factory is a typical case of violation of the "guiding principles" and the "party constitution," of serious infringement upon the democratic rights of party members, and suppression and attack against comrades who have exposed problems.

The circular transmitted the views of the Chaoyang District CPC Committee on how to handle the case: Yang Yuxiang, secretary of the company CPC committee, should be relieved temporarily of his post for self-examination. Xue Zongde, former party branch secretary and currently factory director, should be placed on probation within the party for 1 year. Comrades who have been discriminated against or transferred to other posts should be reinstated.

The circular holds that we should praise and learn from the spirit of adhering to principles and daring to struggle of the party members of the No 2 Shirt Factory. In party life, we must take a correct attitude toward comrades who criticize and expose problems. Retailing against comrades who have exposed problems is a serious violation against the "party constitution" and the "guiding principles," which we will never permit.

The circular said: In order to put an end to similar problems, party organizations at all levels must seriously organize party members and cadres to discuss this circular, check against it existing problems in this respect, and resolutely safeguard the sanctity of party rules and regulations.

CSO: 4005/924

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

EEC ENERGY SEMINAR--Nanjing, June 15 (XINHUA)--Experts and officials from 18 provinces and municipalities are attending the first session of the 1983 energy conservation seminar being held in Nanjing by China and assisted by the European Economic Community. The seminar opened June 12 and will run to the first week of July. One hundred-fifty people were rotated through two sessions last year, Jiangsu provincial officials said. [Text] [OW152118 Beijing XINHUA in English 1601 GMT 15 Jun 83]

CHILDREN'S PERFORMANCE--Beijing, 1 Jun (XINHUA)--Hao Jianxiu, alternate member of the CPPCC Central Committee Secretariat, and Kang Keqing, chairman of the All-China Women's Federation, watched a performance by an air force dependent children's performing group at the auditorium of the CPPCC National Committee tonight. The group of more than 100 children performed a dozen or so literary and art programs tonight including "I Love the Motherland's Blue Sky." The lively programs, with substantial content and original subjects, showed the children's good taste, patriotism and aspirations to defend the motherland's air space when they grow up. Lin Liyun, Li Bozhao and Zhuo Lin also watched tonight's performance. After the performance was over, Hao Jianxiu, Kang Keqing and others happily ascended the stage to wish the children a happy Children's Day. [Sun Maoqing] [Text] [OW022347 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1648 GMT 1 Jun 83]

CSO: 4005/924

SOUTHWEST REGION

XINHUA INTERVIEWS RETURNED FORMER TIBETAN LEADER

OW250310 Beijing XINHUA in English 0251 GMT 25 May 83

[Text] Beijing, 25 May (XINHUA)--"It is impossible for Tibet to be independent of China, and Tibet has never been independent in history," Alo Chhonzed, leader of the former Mi-Mang Tsong-Du (people's conference) of Tibet told XINHUA.

Alo Chhonzed, 64, returned to Tibet from Australia recently together with his wife and son.

Alo Chhonzed was born in the Garze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province. He became a lama in his youth, studying Buddhist scriptures at the Zhebung monastery in Lhasa. He later resumed secular life and turned to business. He became an active advocate of Tibetan independence in the 1950's, and fled abroad in 1956. He later wrote to the United Nations, demanding that the so-called "Tibet question" be put on the agenda of the UN General Assembly.

The former official said: "In the past, I have done many things against the motherland and the people. My experience abroad enables me to see clearly that I was wrong. There is no hope, and there are no good grounds, for making Tibet independent."

He said he has completed a memoir, explaining his position and the reasons for his change of heart.

"I place my hopes on this book. I believe that my personal experience will help my Tibetan compatriots now residing abroad to see that the only way out for them is to return to the motherland," he said.

As a merchant during the period of Kuomintang rule, Alo Chhonzed travelled through Tibet, Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces. He said: "I saw with my own eyes then that there, as in Tibet, the rich were really rich while the poor were very poor. Local tyrants and landlords were wallowing in luxury and pleasure, while 95 percent of the people were living on chaff and wild herbs."

"When I revisited these places in 1980, I was deeply impressed by the new asphalt roads, the healthy color on the people's faces and their stable and happy life," he said.

He said that before he returned to visit, he was told that Tibet was a hell. "What I have seen contradicts what I was told. Great changes have taken place in Tibet. The peasants' and herdsmens' income has increased, and freedom of religious belief is entirely guaranteed," he said.

"I have seen that the children are well looked after in the kindergartens, and the old people show no worry or distress. All these things stimulated me to return."

"Although I am already 74, I still hope to contribute my share to the reunification of the motherland and a strong and prosperous Tibet," Alo Chhonzed said.

CSO: 4005/154

SOUTHWEST REGION

ADVANCES SEEN IN TIBET'S LITERATURE , ART

OW110952 Beijing XINHUA in English 0821 GMT 11 Jun 83

[Text] Lhasa, 11 Jun (XINHUA correspondents Sun Mingzhen, Qun Sang)--Tibet's literature and art has experienced "unprecedented prosperity," recording many "firsts" in the last 3 years, according to Cedain Zhoima, chairman of the Tibet Regional Literary and Art Federation.

In an interview with XINHUA before she left for the National People's Congress, Cedain Zhoima, herself a herdsman's daughter and a serf before Tibet's liberation, said that these "firsts" in the autonomous region's history include the publication of literary and art journals in the Tibetan language and the first novel on contemporary theme; the performance of a number of dramas by Tibetan playwrights; the first TV play by the Tibet Regional Television Network; first regional painting, fresco and photo exhibitions; and the display of Tibetan calligraphy works at national exhibitions.

Cedain Zhoima called them "the results of new policies adopted in recent years in the region."

The chairman said that there are now more than 1,000 professional literary and art workers in the autonomous region, which has a population of only 1.9 million. Among the region's 87 members of various national literary and art, drama, music and photography associations 60 are native Tibetans.

Cedain Zhoima described the development of Tibet's literary creation as "most encouraging." The region's 25 professional writers, mostly Tibetan, published more than 500 short stories, poems and prose works last year, with works by 17 writers winning national awards. Before 1980, she said, no native writer had ever won an award in national literary contests.

On the subject of singing, the 46-year-old chairman--a well-known singer who gained her fame in the late 1950s--said a great number of new singing stars appeared in recent years, "some of them much better than I was."

"In developing Tibet's literature and art," she said, "we have paid great attention to preserving the cream of its long tradition."

In recent years, such traditional art forms as Tibetan drama and ballad singing have been restored and developed. The eight major traditional regional dramas have been restaged and new ones on contemporary themes have been created; the region's first ballad singing troupe has been set up in the capital of Lhasa; the first nine volumes of "King Gesar," a 10-million-word ancient folk epic handed down orally and in manuscripts and woodcuts, have been published and more than 100 frescos in Tibet's major temples have been reproduced and exhibited in Beijing.

Cedain Zhoima noted that Tibet's recent economic development has provided a better material base for the prosperity of its literature and art. She estimated that by 1985, Tibet's writers will have increased to 500 and literary and art journals been doubled.

CSO: 4005/154

SOUTHWEST REGION

PEOPLE'S MEDIATORS HANDLE SICHUAN CIVIL DISPUTES

OW171133 Beijing XINHUA in English 1105 GMT 17 May 83

[Text] Chengdu, 17 May (XINHUA)--A million people's mediators are handling civil disputes and conflicts in China's most populous province of Sichuan, in southwest China, according to the provincial judicial department. The mediators are working in organizations known as mediation committees established in urban neighborhood committees, rural production brigades and factory workshops.

Elected by the people themselves, most mediators are office employees, retired workers, housewives or ordinary peasants who are considered fair in handling affairs and devoted to public service. They receive no extra pay from the government or from the litigants. Mediation is entirely voluntary. The litigants have the right to bring their disputes to the courts without mediation or after the mediation fails.

Sichuan Province now has 87,000 mediation committees. About 95 percent of all civil disputes or conflicts handled by these committees during the past few years were successfully resolved. Such disputes mainly involved neighborhood and family relations, as well as minor conflicts such as between peasants over the use of collective farm implements, private plots or water.

Successful mediation often prevented minor disputes from growing into major conflicts, the judicial department said.

In one case, a peasant in Yongchuan County was killed by a collapsing wall while helping neighbors to pull down a ramshackle house. The family of the dead man demanded revenge, and more than 100 people were called by the two families for a group fight. On hearing this, mediators in the village rushed to the scene. While publicizing the law and relevant government policies, they explained to the family of the dead what had actually happened and tried to get the owner of the collapsed house around to pay a sum of money to the grieved family. Three successive days' mediation finally solved the potentially serious case, and the two families were on good terms again as before.

In another case, after a young couple had quarrelled for a long time over household trifles, the husband picked up a kitchen knife and attempted to kill his wife. At this critical moment, a mediator named Wei risked her life to wrest the knife from the husband. During the 7-day mediation, Wei sharply criticized the husband for his recklessness, while asking the wife to be broad-minded. The mediator finally reunited the young couple. Later they often came to Wei's home to express their thanks. "It is her mediation that helped reunite our family," the young man said.

Many of the 30,000 exemplary families in the province have been reunited with the help of mediation committees, the judicial department said.

Described as a "unique Oriental experience" by visitors from abroad, people's mediation originated in the revolutionary bases during the war years. It was first institutionalized in a set of organic rules promulgated in 1954 by the then Central People's Government. The institution was incorporated into the new national constitution adopted by the National People's Congress last December.

An official in the judicial department of Sichuan hailed people's mediation as effective in curbing potential violence and maintaining public order.

CSO: 4005/154

SOUTHWEST REGION

FAMILY PLANNING BRINGS PROSPERITY IN SICHUAN

OW191327 Beijing XINHUA in English 1304 GMT 19 May 83

[Text] Chengdu, 19 May (XINHUA correspondent Mi Lirong)--Peasants in China's populous Sichuan Province are becoming prosperous through family planning. "Children can be born, but land resources are limited," said Rao Zihua, a 29-year-old peasant woman in Sichuan's Shifang County in an interview with XINHUA. The county is considered a pace-setter in family planning, education and publicity. Rao and her husband are among the 25,000 couples in the county who have taken up the government's call for "one couple one child." China's goal is to keep its population below 1.2 billion by the end of this century.

When Rao gave birth to a girl baby in 1976, she and her husband hoped to have a boy several years later. "At that time," she said, "we thought a couple with two children was quite sound. We were also afraid that some accident might happen to our little girl."

"Since the one-child family policy was advocated by the government in 1979, we have been given statistics on population and land, such as the dwindling of per capita farmland. We understand gradually that family planning benefits both the country and individuals," Rao said. Her husband Wang Dajun shared her view.

In 1982, Rao's family of four, including her husband, child, and mother-in-law, earned 2,050 kilograms of grain and 4,400 yuan in cash from the 0.23 hectare they worked and household side-occupations. They raised pigs, chickens, ducks and rabbits.

Rao and her husband used their money to build a 5-room brick-and-tile house. They also bought a TV set and a cassette-recorder.

According to local government rules, preferential measures used to make more couples conscious of contraception and sterilization include free nursery and primary schooling, free medical-check-ups twice each year and free preventive inoculations.

Ninety-six percent of the couples in Shifang County have registered to have only one baby, and 91 percent are practicing various kinds of birth control, according to the local office of the family planning.

The county has a population of 380,000, with a population density of 440 people per square kilometer.

Its natural population growth rate has dropped from 27.32 per thousand in 1970 to 8.5 per thousand in 1982.

CSO: 4005/154

SOUTHWEST REGION

HEALTH, WELFARE OF CHILDREN IN XIZANG IMPROVES

OW231544 Beijing XINHUA in English 1324 GMT 23 May 83

[Text] Lhasa, 23 May (XINHUA correspondent Namgyai)--A health check carried out on 6,600 Tibetan students, aged 7 to 17, showed improved physical stature and weight over a 17 year period, according to public health officials.

Average height of the students went up 9.28 cm between 1965 and 1982, while average weight went up almost 3.87 kg. The average height was 139.43 cm in 1982 and the weight was 32.21 kg.

The local health department issued a circular recently directing all hospitals to arrange for mobile medical teams to give infants free medical check-ups before International Children's Day, 1 June.

On the eve of Children's Day, the regional government sent gifts of toys and books to 400 nurseries and kindergartens in Tibet. A week-long free film show for children have been arranged and activities for children will be held in parks.

Now even villages in remote and pastoral areas have kindergartens and nurseries. In Zetang commune, Shannan Prefecture about 200 km south of Lhasa, 90 percent of the pre-school children are taken care of in a nursery. When the nursery opened last year, the local government donated a color TV set, an electric record player, sports equipment and toys. A new children's palace, playgrounds and reading rooms have been set up in Lhasa.

The Children's Welfare Department of the autonomous region will set up a children's hospital in Lhasa with the money donated by people's organizations and individuals.

CSO: 4005/154

SOUTHWEST REGION

XIZANG CELEBRATES 32D ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION

HK240425 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 24 May 83

[Summary] "Yesterday morning, the regional CPPCC Committee held a forum to commemorate the 32d anniversary of the signing of the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Xizang. Samding Doje Pamo, vice chairman of the regional CPPCC Committee, presided over the forum. Vice Chairmen of the regional CPPCC Committee Lamin Suolang-Lungzhu, Jinzhong Jianzan Pingcuo, (Daci Xudi Nima), (Sanzhen Jiacuo) and Lhalu Cewangdoji; Secretary General of the regional CPPCC Committee (Xu Hongshen) and Deputy Secretary General (Yuxi Cilie) attended the forum."

The patriotic Tibetans of all walks of life attending the forum hailed the great achievements of socialist revolution and construction gained under the leadership of the CPC and regional people's government. They enthusiastically praised the party's policies on nationality, united front, religion and so on, and expressed their determination to make new contributions for safeguarding the unification of the motherland, strengthening national unity, and building a civilized new Xizang.

"Lhawu Dara Tubain Daintar, who took part in the signing of the 17-article agreement, delivered a speech at the forum.

"Responsible comrades of the party, government, and concerned departments (Jiao Danzhong), Li Benshan, [words indistinct], Jamzom Zhaxi Degtii, (Hu De), (Yipu Qinsuo Sidan), (Ha Tuanyi), (Ying Ji) and (Yang Zhiqin) were invited to the forum.

"Responsible comrade of Lhasa City CPC Committee (Gao Zhizhen) and Vice Chairmen of the city CPPCC Committee (Lamu Yingqin Weiike), (Xiankang Ziran Zhenzhu) and (Tangmai Senduo Ciren), and some veteran comrades (Chen Jinbo), (Wang Yixiang) and (Hu Zhongli) who worked in Xizang, were also invited to the forum."

CSO: 4005/154

SOUTHWEST REGION

BRIEFS

BUDDHIST THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE--Lhasa, 25 May (XINHUA)--Tibet plans to establish its first Buddhist Theological Institute this year in Lhasa, capital of the autonomous region, according to an official of the Buddhist Association of Tibet. The official said that the institute will enroll 200 students from Lamas of various sects of Buddhism and Buddhism believers in Tibet and run elementary and advanced courses with curricula including theory of religion, basic knowledge on Buddhist sects, ancient Tibetan language and politics and general knowledge. The students will be selected through recommendation plus examinations, he said. As a famous seat of Buddhism in China, Tibet has 1,200 lamas in monasteries of the Yellow, Red and Sakya sects. The official said that in addition to the funds the government has allocated each year to repair the Buddhist buildings, young lamas will be trained in groups. The institute will be located at Naiqiong Zhacang, in the western suburbs of Lhasa. [Text] [OW251208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1108 GMT 25 May 83]

CSO: 4005/154

NORTHWEST REGION

QINGHAI GOVERNOR WELCOMES NEW MEMBERS OF LEADING BODIES

HK230252 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 May 83

[Summary] On the afternoon of 17 May, new and old cadres of the provincial government held a meeting to discuss the question of cooperation between new and old cadres and the succession of the latter by the former. Attending the meeting were leading comrades of the previous government and responsible comrades of committees, offices, departments and bureaus. They exchanged views and encouraged each other in an enthusiastic atmosphere.

"The meeting was presided over by Vice Governor Jing Shenming. Governor Huang Jingbo spoke at the meeting. He said: Most of the leading cadres of the government's committees, offices, departments and bureaus have been elected. We extend our warm welcome to comrades who have been newly elected to leading bodies. Leading members of the previous government contributed to the socialist cause in Qinghai during their terms of office. We should learn from them.

"Governor Huang Jingbo asked comrades newly elected to leading bodies to start work at once, undertake heavy responsibilities and work with courage. New leading bodies set up in various departments should strive to make progress, strengthen unity and cooperation between the new and the old, give play to their strong points, and form strong leading cores. They should continue to do a good job in their work and production and strive to open a new situation in various fields of work.

"Song Lin, Shen Ling, Xihouba, (Wang Zhengtian), Yin Kesheng, Han Fucui and (Li Xianrui) also spoke at the meeting."

Members newly elected to the leading bodies pledged to live up to the hopes of the party and the people and learn modestly from the old comrades.

CSO: 4005/906

NORTHWEST REGION

GANSU HOLDS MEETING ON WORK CONCERNING OLD CADRES

HK130319 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Jun 83

[Excerpts] The Gansu Provincial CPC Committee held a forum on old cadres on 10 and 11 June. A number of provincial unit cadres who have retired to the second or third lines, together with responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee and its old cadre work group, studied and discussed questions of further improving work concerning old cadres.

In the wake of the progress of structural reform and the readjustment of the leadership organs, over 1,000 old cadres in Gansu have retired to the second and third lines since last October. In order to do a good job in cooperation between new and old cadres and replacement of old by new, many old cadres have enthusiastically recommended and supported young cadres during the structural reform, put forward suggestions and acted as staff officers for the new leadership groups.

During the forum, many old comrades spoke on the importance of the Central Committee's intentions regarding cooperation between new and old cadres and replacements of old by new, and put forward many good views on how to continue to bring into play the role of old cadres and implement the policies on their treatment. They pledged to do as much as they could to contribute to the four modernizations.

A responsible comrade of the provincial CPC committee spoke at the meeting. He fully affirmed the role played by the old cadres in structural reform in the province. He demanded that leading cadres at all levels take the lead in publicizing the historic achievements of the old cadres and their contributions to socialist construction, publicize the Central Committee's principles and policies on respecting and caring for the old cadres, and teach the cadres and masses to spontaneously respect and care for them, so that they can pass their last years in happiness.

CSO: 4005/906

NORTHWEST REGION

SHAANXI LEADER ON RURAL IDEOLOGICAL WORK

HK110608 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 11 Jun 83

[Excerpts] In a speech to a meeting of responsible comrades of prefectural and city CPC committees and of propaganda departments on 9 June, Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Zhou Yanguan stressed: It is essential to strengthen party leadership over rural ideological and political work.

Comrade Zhou Yanguan said: Agricultural production has developed rapidly in Shaanxi since the institution of agricultural production responsibility systems, and there has been a marked improvement in the peasants' living standards. However, ideological and political work in the rural areas remains very weak. The party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership over this work. The prefectural and county CPC committees, especially the latter, should devote their main effort to strengthening and improving this work. At present it is necessary to do the following tasks:

1. Promote division of work between party and government, set up responsibility systems for political work and put them on a sound basis. Commune and township party committees and brigade party branches must clearly understand their own responsibilities and change the situation of party failure to manage itself and constant involvement in administrative work. Propaganda cadres must be rapidly assigned in the communes. In accordance with the provincial CPC committees' demand, every commune must have a propagandist or full-time propaganda cadre.
2. Do a good job in training backbone elements for the work.
3. Continue to organize cultural centers for the communes and townships and cultural rooms for the brigades, actively run sparetime schools for the peasants, strengthen the maintenance and management of wired broadcasting, and occupy the rural cultural position with socialist ideology.

CSO: 4005/906

NORTHWEST REGION

GUANGMING RIBAO ON SIGNIFICANCE OF XINJIANG RECOVERY

HK280854 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 83 p 4

[Article by Yang Dongliang: "People of All Races Fought Side by Side for the Recovery of Xinjiang in Recent Chinese History"]

[Text] In our modern history of resisting aggression and defending the motherland's territorial integrity, the battle for the recovery of Xinjiang from 1876 to 1878 may be regarded as the most glorious example.

In 1864, class contradictions in the Xinjiang region were becoming more acute. Some members of the national upper strata established five feudal regimes north and south of Tian Shan by raising the reactionary banner of "repelling the Man race, opposing the Han race, and defending our religious beliefs." The evil activities carried out by a handful of splittists gave opportunities to foreign careerists that they could exploit. In the spring of 1865, Yakub Beg, an officer of Khokand, a Khanate in middle Asia, outrageously invaded our southern territory. He successively annexed some separatist regimes in addition to the Ili region and occupied the Kaxgar, Yarkant, Hotan, and Kuqu regions. He then seized the Turpan region and Urumqi in 1870 and established a colonial Khanate regime called "Kashgaria (Zhe De Shar)." In the meantime, the Russian tsar, who coveted our Xinjiang territory a long time ago, tried to get something by taking advantage of the troubled situation. So impatient was the tsar that he dispatched troops to invade our Ili region in the summer of 1871 in order to seize a key bridgehead for the annexation of Xinjiang. The bandit gang of Yakub Beg, who had usurped our southern territory, "killed enemies not by swords but frequently by poisoning them, bringing on a quick death. All Chan Hui (Uygur) young girls above 8 years of age were raped. Usually, 6 or 7 out of 10 raped girls subsequently died." They imposed exorbitant taxes to extort almost every inch of the southern territory. "The Chan Hui families were ruined in a very short time and became destitute and homeless."

Under the heel of the invaders, people of all races in Xinjiang always yearned to return to the embrace of the motherland.

"All soldiers and civilians of the Man, Lu, Suo, Lum, Xibe, Chachar, and (Elute) races and the nobles of the (Tur Hute) race at Jing He" in the Ili region "were already with one heart risking their lives and never yielded

to the Russian barbarian." ("A History of Handling Barbarian Affairs," Tong Zhi reign of the Qing Dynasty, Vol 84, p 11) How the Uygur brothers in the southern territory wanted the Qing government to dispatch troops westward to expel the invaders!

In the summer of 1876, Zuo Zongtang, the patriotic general, surmounted every difficulty and led a large-scale offensive army after detailed planning. The just action of the Qing government to recover the lost territory was enthusiastically supported by all Chinese people, especially the people of all races in Xinjiang. The Qing army advanced along three routes with irresistible force. They won many battles in succession and the news of victory kept pouring in. Yakub Beg, who was at the end of his rope by that time, killed himself by taking poison. Thus, Xinjiang was returned to the embrace of the motherland. (The main part of the Ili region was still unrecovered until 1881, when it was returned through negotiations with war preparations as backing.) After the recovery of Xinjiang, some people composed a new poem by rewriting the line of verse of "spring breezes never blow through the Yumen gate." The new poem said: "The newly planted willows that stretch about 3,000 li attract the spring breezes to blow through the Yumen gate." It just praised the reunification of the motherland.

The victory in the recovery of Xinjiang was a song of triumph of people of all races who fought side by side. The battle was won not only because the offensive army was formed by the Han, Man, Hui, and Monggol races, but also because it was fought in the interest of the entire Chinese nation. Thus, it was fully supported by people of all races in Xinjiang, and the offensive army was "warmly welcomed" everywhere it went.

In July 1876, the main force of Liu Jintang's Qing army was marching to the northern territory of Xinjiang. On their way from Fukang to Gumu, they encountered a water shortage at the place where they camped. So thirsty were the soldiers that they were all feeling unwell. At that critical moment, the local people gave them a hand and helped them find an "accumulated spring." Thus, they were able to attack Huangtian and won the first battle after entering Xinjiang. In the spring of 1877, the Qing army advanced southward from Urumqi and besieged the gateway to the southern territory--the Dabanchang. The Uygur people risked their lives by fleeing from the city and told the Qing army that the enemy troops in the city were making a vain attempt to break the siege. Thus, the Qing army strengthened its precautionary measures and these enabled the Qing army to go after an easy prey. The Qing army rounded up Yakub Beg's 4,000-strong crack troops in one try, without letting any gang leader escape. When the Qing army pressed onward to the Tian Shan Nan Lu, the Uygur people "eagerly looked forward to and waited for their return." ("Notes on Muslim Rebellion," Vol 3, p 48) "They had done quite a lot for the (Qing) army, either by guiding them to the correct direction or by joining the army." ("The Complete Works of Zuo Zongtang," Vol 51 of "Memorial to the Throne," p 74) When the Qing army was about to attack Turpan, Aha Mute, a Uygur tribesman, provided much important information to Zhang Yao, commander of the Song Wu troop. In late August of 1877, remnants of the enemy troops, such as Bai Yanfu, fled in a disorderly manner to the Baicheng. They were vigorously

pursued and fiercely mauled by the Qing army during an autumn attack. The Uygur people, however, "closed the city gate and the bandit Bai could not break through it." When the Qing army arrived at Aksu, "tens of thousands of Chan Hui (that is, Uygurs) in the city defended themselves until the Qing army arrived." ("The Complete Works of Zuo Zongtang," Vol 51 of "Memorial to the Throne," p 47) In the meantime, Baike Niazi at Hotain even came over from the enemy's side, which pinned down the remnant forces of Baike Huli (the elder son of Yakub Beg).

People of races other than the Uygur in Xinjiang also acted positively and joined the battle for the recovery of Xinjiang.

Xinjiang was returned to the embrace of the motherland after more than 10 years of occupation by the enemy because people of all races in Xinjiang came to join the Qing army one after another to wipe out the bandit gang of Yakub Beg. This was a significant victory and it was a magnificent poem which was composed by people of all races through fighting side by side.

CSO: 4005/906

NORTHWEST REGION

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR ARMY FAMILIES

HK170825 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 May 83

[Summary] Recently, the provincial government issued a provisional regulation on giving preferential treatment to family members of martyrs and servicemen, and to disabled armymen. According to the regulation, preferential treatment should be given to family members of martyrs, including those who sacrificed their lives, died of an illness or disappeared, and servicemen, including armed policemen and fire policemen, and to disabled armymen, retired red army soldiers and those demobilized armymen who have been unable to work for quite a long time and hence have been living a difficult life due to failing health or illness. It is stipulated in the regulation that preferential treatment should generally be given to family members of martyrs and compulsory servicemen living in rural and pastoral areas. As to the children of revolutionary martyrs, red army soldiers and disabled armymen of grade 1 or above, one child of each of them may be given preferential treatment in job placement and the remaining children may, if they reach relevant requirements, be given preferential treatment as well. In allocating and distributing residential houses in towns and cities, preferential treatment should also be given to family members of martyrs and servicemen, red army soldiers and disabled armymen. As to martyrs' children who are still in school, educational departments must give preferential treatment to them in obtaining stipends, paying reduced tuition fees or even enjoying exemption. In admitting students to schools, preferential treatment should be given to them if they reach the same level as others.

The regulation called on people's government at all levels to educate masses of various areas to carry forward the glorious tradition of supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to families of revolutionary armymen and martyrs, consciously implement relevant policy and do good deeds for family members of martyrs and servicemen, and for disabled armymen. In the meantime, it is necessary to strengthen political and ideological work among family members of martyrs and servicemen, and disabled and demobilized armymen, and encourage them to carry forward the revolutionary tradition and make new contributions to the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/906

NORTHWEST REGION

EXPERIMENTAL PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK CONTINUES

HK170637 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 May 83

[Text] Radio correspondent reports: Our province's party rectification experimental work is in progress in various places. From the last 10 days of March until the present, 25 units have been designated for the experimental work. Qinghai Automobile Manufacturing Plant, which began the work rather early, has basically ended the party rectification work. Eighteen units are currently carrying on the work, and six units have been making preparations. It has been decided in all regions that leading cadres of various CPC committees should be responsible for this work. The units chosen for this purpose in various places comprise leading organs as well as grassroots units, and advanced units as well as less-advanced units. The experimental units in (Jinmenshe), (Guannan), and (Hainanzhou) which began the work relatively early have made intensive investigations, have had discussions with the masses inside and outside the party, and have organized party members to study the new party constitution, so that party members can be educated in systematic knowledge of the party with particular reference to their concrete conditions. In the last 10 days of April, the office for pilot projects of party rectification under the [words indistinct] municipal CPC committee convened a report meeting on the work of pilot projects, inspected the conditions in unfolding the experimental work of party rectification, exchanged experiences, and set out requirements for the pilot projects at the next stage.

CSO: 4005/906

NORTHWEST REGION

SHAANXI REVIEWS PARTY CONSOLIDATION EXPERIMENTS

HK170510 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 16 May 83

[Text] The provincial CPC committee conference on consolidating the party on an experimental basis, which ended yesterday, pointed out that the current consolidation of the party on an experimental basis constituted an important part of all-round party consolidation. The experiment on party consolidation should therefore be unwaveringly done well and with firm confidence. From the beginning of this year, experiments were conducted successively in 12 units of our province.

The conference exchanged views and experiences on the experiments conducted at various units and also put forward requirements for doing a further good job in the experiment work on party consolidation.

The conference pointed out: While conducting experiments on party consolidation throughout the province, the principle of ideological consolidation should be adhered to and the problems of political line, party life and wholeheartedly serving the people related to party members should be emphatically solved. The stress of party consolidation should be on party cadres and strict requirements should be set for them. Leading cadres of the party should set an example, take the lead in studying documents and correcting unhealthy tendencies, and use their exemplary deeds to influence the masses. The party's policies should be earnestly implemented in conducting experiments on party consolidation.

The conference emphasized that doing a good job in conducting experiments on party consolidation is a matter of great importance. Therefore, it is necessary to further emancipate our minds, be bold to break through convention, proceed from the present actual situation, solve new problems, and blaze new trails, so as to summarize a set of new experiences in consolidating the party in an all-round way.

CSO: 4005/906

NORTHWEST REGION

SHAANXI GOVERNOR URGES LEADERSHIP WORK STYLE IMPROVEMENT

HK170446 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 16 May 83

[Text] After its structural reform, the provincial government held a plenary meeting on 11 May. Responsible comrades of the provincial government and various bureaus, commissions and departments attended the meeting. At the meeting, Governor Li Qingwei summed up the experience of the structural reform carried out at the previous stage and arranged plans for the work at the next stage. He put forward the task that must be solved in future economic work.

Governor Li also presented his opinions on improving the work style of leadership of the provincial government. He said: The new leading body should have a new work style and a new look. It is necessary to earnestly get rid of bureaucracy, red tape and so on, and strive to raise the work efficiency and quality of our work. Governor Li set forth 10 proposals for improving the work style of leadership:

1. Work personnel of leading organs should be mobilized by various departments to establish and perfect all kinds of work systems and the system of personal responsibility. The situation of those rendering good or bad service and those doing more or less work being treated equally should be resolutely opposed. Those who are not responsible in work should be [criticized, and] departments should actively handle the work they are responsible for. [Passage indistinct]

3. Responsible comrades of various bureaus, commissions and departments should use at least 1/4 of their time every year to go to the grassroots levels to conduct investigations and solve problems on the spot. [Passage indistinct]

4. The practice of holding shorter and fewer meetings should be proposed. [Passage indistinct]

5. The spirit of plain living and hard work, going deep into the realities of life, establishing close ties with the masses, seeking no privileges, and combating bureaucracy should be proposed among the work personnel in leading organs. [Passage indistinct]

CSO: 4005/906

NORTHWEST REGION

BRIEFS

XINJIANG GROUP VISITS TIANJIN--The Xinjiang group of the national minority-nationality visiting group visited Tianjin from 9 to 13 May. During its stay in Tianjin, it visited the memorial hall commemorating Comrade Zhou Enlai's revolutionary activities in Tianjin during his youth. It also visited a radio plant, a printing and dyeing mill, a watch factory, a bicycle plant, other factories, and a brigade. Wherever it went, it was cordially received and warmly welcomed. [HK010936 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 29 May 83]

CSO: 4005/906

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### MILITIA REFORMS IN POLITICAL, MILITARY AFFAIRS STRESSED

#### Militia Works in Liaoning Province

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Feb 83 p 3

[ "First Political Commissar" column by Zi Ming [1316 2494] and Shu Wen [2885 2429]: "Yingkou Military Subdistrict's First Political Commissar States that the Work of the People's Militia Must Be Courageously Reformed and that People's Militia Company Commanders Can Hold Only One Office" ]

[Text] Zhang Zhenhua [1728 2182 5478], the Yingkou Municipal CPC Committee secretary and first political commissar of the Military Subdistrict, emphasized at a meeting of the first political commissars convened at the Yingkou Military Subdistrict that after implementing the responsibility system of joint production contracts, the peasant villages must make assignments for militia company commanders. Militia company commanders, must make militia work their priority; they will be allowed to hold only one office and their salary cannot be lower than that of brigade cadres.

Comrade Zhang Zhenhua mentioned further that with the peasant villages implementing the responsibility system of joint production contracts, changes are occurring in the economic system; consequently, the style of economic management is also undergoing change. However, no matter what changes there are, the strategical status and key role of the people's militia and the fundamental principle of the party controlling the armed forces cannot change. First political commissars must plan policies on the basis of their position to fully perform their role and not be a political commissar in name only. The key to initiating a new phase in militia work is for party committees at every level and the people's armed forces departments to advance another step in liberating their thinking and reform courageously in order to make an even better adaption to the new circumstances and keep abreast of new situations.

#### Reforms in Weapons Management

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Zheng Baojin [6774 1405 6855] and Ma Zhanxin [7456 0594 0207]: "Yuhong Prefecture Reforms the Weapons Management System of the People's Militia" ]

[Text] Yuhong Prefecture of the municipality of Shenyang has reformed its weapons management system, deciding that the armed forces and the public

security department share in the management responsibility. The measures for integration are as follows: (1) The armed forces belonging to various communes (plant, farm) and police stations and security sections are to join in stipulating the duties and tasks for contacting, coordinating and disposing plans for responding to emergency situations. (2) Every year during the period for receiving retired soldiers and arranging for their transfer, each armed forces unit, police station and security section must without delay instruct them to deliver their privately stored ammunition. (3) Duty personnel for weapons and ammunition depots are to be appointed, managed, trained and used by each armed forces unit; once a month, the police stations and security sections are responsible for educational programs in the areas of public security situations, ordinary duty cognizance and the organization of discipline. (4) The prefecture's armed forces department and public security branch office are to jointly conduct a general inspection of militia weapons and ammunitions depots, defense installations and security systems once every quarter, and routinely and on holidays they are to conduct spot-checks. Every month the commune armed forces department, police stations, armed forces departments and security sections at plants and farms are to jointly conduct inspections of their own weapons and ammunitions depots, as well as make self-inspection records for future reference.

(5) Those who manage well the weapons of the people's militia will receive awards; those who are responsible will be traced when problems arise.

#### Political Education

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Feb 83 p 3

[Article: "The Propaganda Department of the Provincial CPC Committee and the Political Department of the Provincial Military District Jointly Propose Demands for Reform; the Political Education of the People's Militia Must Emphasize Relevance and Effectiveness"]

[Text] On 4 January the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee's Propaganda Department and the Liaoning Military District's Political Department jointly offered their opinions on further strengthening the political education of the people's militia, demanding that, in a spirit of reform, various levels of the party's propaganda department, the people's armed forces department and people's militia organizations initiate a new phase in the political education of the militia throughout the whole province.

The joint circular stated that the gradual implementation of various kinds of production responsibility systems and management responsibility systems is bringing many favorable factors to the political education of the people's militia and that a few new conditions and problems have arisen. Changes have especially occurred in the organization of production and the methods of making assignments in the commune brigades which are carrying out the responsibility system of joint production contracts; in such aspects as organizational forms, time allotments and the training of key members, the political education of

the people's militia must adapt to these changing conditions. For this, a pioneer spirit must be encouraged which will energetically improve work style and methods, insist upon going down to the grass roots, investigate and study, summarize new experiences and present new measures in order to guide the superficial education toward in-depth development.

The circular explained that the reform of the political education in the people's militia must emphasize relevance and practical effectiveness; that is, it is to maintain close contact with the ideological state in the people's militia and, as much as possible, relate to what the people's militia is doing and saying, so that whatever problems there are, appropriate education can get underway.

As for the instruction materials issued by the upper levels, they must be based on reality, be flexibly applied and not taken too literally. We must take the characteristics of the young militia men into consideration in carrying out emulative education, strengthening their knowledge and interest and increasing our power of attraction and appeal. We must actively manage cultural centers and night schools well and combine political education with the study of scientific knowledge and the launching of healthy and beneficial cultural activities. We must broaden the channels of education, fully utilizing newspapers and journals, radio broadcasting, television, slide presentations, bulletin boards, wall posters, pictures and literature and art, etc., putting into practice forms which are effective in launching the educational campaign. Where the conditions exist, we can even engage in audio-visual aids programs and on-the-spot educational programs, request the advanced to make such things as model reports so as to revitalize education.

The circular also defined the duties of various levels in achieving the political education of the people's militia, making sure that this education is implemented at the grass-roots level.

#### Zhejiang MD Reforms

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Feb 83 p 1

[Article by Wang Xiangu [3769 6343 4474]: "The Zhejiang Military District CPC Committee Holds Enlarged Meeting to Work Out Innovation Measures for 1983"]

[Text] From 27 January to 1 February an enlarged meeting of the Zhejiang Provincial Military District's CPC Committee was held. The meeting investigated, drafted and won its first victory with four innovations, and full of confidence, launched the new phase of work of the armed forces and the people's militia.

The first measure is to continue to eliminate the influence of "leftist" ideology and the bondage of sticking to the old ideas, correctly and effectively handle the implementation of the instructions from higher levels, comply with the relevant regulations, insist upon every system and carry out reforms which are beneficial toward army building; emphasizing the work characteristics of the armed forces is not to be used to hinder overall systematic

reform. If we want to do things to benefit the building up of the armed forces and the people's militia, the upgrading of the troops' fighting strength, the maturation of cadres and soldiers and the initiation of a new phase in the building of the people's militia, we have to exhibit our courage and change what we judge accurately.

The second measure is to devote much attention to courageously promoting those cadres who have the spirit of initiative in their work to leadership positions. Older comrades must be broadminded, on their own accord relinquishing their posts to capable individuals and actively choose the qualified. Principal leadership comrades should investigate themselves, check on themselves. We must stress rejuvenation, strengthen the scientific and cultural education of the cadre ranks, accelerate changes in the conditions of cadres tending to be older and their scientific and cultural knowledge.

The third measure is to progressively execute the responsibility system in leadership posts at various levels and thoroughly smash the idea of eating from "the same big pot." For every project, duty and target, full responsibility is to be carried out, and whoever attains success is to be commended and rewarded, while wherever problems occur, whoever is responsible will be traced.

The fourth measure is to energetically encourage the practice of conducting investigations and studies and explore the true path of reform. This year the time spent by the three levels, army, regiment and division, leadership cadres and office cadres at the grassroots for investigation and study must not be less than 2, 3 and 4 months respectively. Every unit and department must undergo investigations to determine its own key reforms. Leadership cadres at various levels must all put their full energies into investigation and study, exploring the ways to achieve reform.

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CSO: 4005/838

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN UNIT BUILDING

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Xiao Jianqing [5618 0256 0615]: "Bold Selection and Utilization of Intellectuals by Logistics Department of Chengdu Units Promote Unit Building and Completion of Various Tasks"]

[Text] The Party Committee and the Political Department of the Logistics Department of the Chengdu Units of the PLA have boldly authorized the selection and utilization of intellectuals. At present there are already more than two hundred middle-aged and young intellectuals who have taken up leadership responsibilities at the division and regiment level and have greatly contributed to unit building and the completion of various tasks.

The Logistics Department includes over 1,600 intellectuals who have graduated from college or other institutes of higher and professional education. The members of the Party Committee leadership have often instructed cadres at the various levels that they must treat intellectuals correctly and appropriately, and have personally gone down to the various troop units to select intellectuals for targets of cultivation and promotion. Since the Third Plenum [of the 11th Central Committee], they have brought 146 intellectuals into the Party, and in some units now, intellectuals account for up to 71 percent of the leadership. At the same time they have overturned the verdict on 26 intellectuals who have been previously wrongly accused and indicted; they have solved the problems of 224 intellectuals in whose cases husbands and wives have been forced by circumstances to live long distances apart from one another over a protracted period, and they have resolved and adjusted problems of housing for 411 intellectuals.

The Party Committee's concern for and heavy reliance on the intellectuals and its mobilization of their activism has promoted the building of logistics units and the completion of various tasks. Yang Weibang, the deputy chief surgeon of a certain army hospital, is a case in point. He had served in the medical department of the old army. Since he joined the PLA in 1949, he has consciously reformed his thought and has worked diligently and hard. He has received several meritorious awards. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" he was attacked and persecuted, and yet even then he did not waver in his determination to join the Party. In the program to implement the Party's policy on intellectuals, the Party Committee, on the basis of

his past performance and wishes, brought him into the Party and promoted him to deputy director of the hospital. Last year, during the flood resistance and catastrophe relief, the hospital accepted and healed many of the masses who were hit by the disaster. At that time he was suffering from a gastric illness, but he held his position and at times even worked shifts of over 20 hours. Then there is Cao Tanghua, who was graduated from the Medical College of the Seventh Army in 1965, and who, since being promoted to the directorship of a certain hospital, fiercely took hold of the reforms in the workstyles of medical treatment and of the improvement of medical specialty and technique under the leadership of the hospital's Party Committee, and has thereby helped to bring about an escalation in the indices of medical quality in all areas that has exceeded the best level in the historical record of that hospital. Moreover, he has launched 120 new tasks, and has achieved splendid research results. He has six times shared his experience at meetings of the profession on an all-army level.

In the last three years, among the intellectuals in the Rear Services Department, more than 530 people have performed meritorious services for which they had received awards. Of the 1,034 new tasks and new technologies which have been launched with them as backbone, 47 have received nationwide or army-wide awards for technological accomplishment.

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CSO: 4005/787

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

THREE ARTICLES ON RECRUITMENT OF AVIATION TRAINEES

GUANGMING RIBAO Article

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by Yu Shencun [0827 0524 2504]: "Air Force Party Committee Decides to Select a Large Batch of College Graduated Cadres: Outstanding Intellectuals May Become Commanding Officers of Armies, Divisions and Regiments"]

[Text] The Party Committee of the Air Force recently decided to request the various units of the Air Force to give priority in their work of streamlining and reorganization to selecting a batch of college graduated cadres of proven superior moral character and talent, to enter the ranks of the leadership at and above the regiment level, and to take on the leadership responsibilities for the various organs and departments. It also decided that it should be possible for the outstanding intellectuals to be promoted and utilized at a pace which abrogates the normal procedures and that they may take positions as commanding officers of armies, divisions or regiments.

The Party committee requested that the units immediately carry out a comprehensive examination of college graduates and in particular people who have graduated from college prior to 1966, and to report to the higher levels specific plans for the utilization of all those who are eligible to enter the leadership ranks of regiments and higher level units or for whom there should be good prospect for future development.

The Party committee moreover requested that barriers between units be broken down in order that the scope of the selection and utilization of intellectuals be expanded. It admonished against the erroneous ways of being reluctant to recommend or refer to other units cadres whom one's own unit has failed to select or utilize. It suggested that college graduated cadres who are eligible for entering the leadership ranks at the division level or above should be put to use under a unified arrangement to be made throughout the Air Force. Furthermore, it proposed that college graduated cadres who have a relatively advanced specialty or professional training should not be easily allowed to transfer into careers in administrative leadership work.

GANSU RIBAO Comment

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 24 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Fan Xiufu [2868 0208 4385]: "Flight and Technical Schools of Civil Aviation Authority Recruits in Lanzhou for the First Time"]

[Text] On 23 March the departments concerned in Lanzhou municipality made arrangements for the recruitment work of the Civil Aviation Authority's Flight and Technical School among the three counties and six districts under its control. According to a joint bulletin issued by the Bureau of Civil Aviation and the Education Ministry, the Civil Aviation Flight and Technical School plans to recruit 20 flight attendant trainees in Lanzhou Municipality this year. The School is an institute of higher education which cultivates for our country's civil aviation enterprises flight personnel and ground navigation control personnel. It has a three-year course of study and this is the first time it has held a public recruitment in Lanzhou. The Civil Aviation Authority has now dispatched its recruitment team here to commence the work.

All male students scheduled to graduate from senior middle school in 1983 (including resident-resumed education students) in Lanzhou municipality (including the three counties and six districts) who are between 16 and 19 years of age (i.e., born between 1 January 1964 and 31 December 1966) may apply through the schools they are presently in. The schedule for the acceptance of applications begins with the first day of the mobilization of the program at the particular school and ends on 5 April. The applying students, after being recommended by the school and passing its physical and political examinations, will take part in a national general examination for the category of sciences, industrial technology, agricultural technology and medicine. Ultimately they will be selected for enrollment on the basis of the principle of possession of the finest qualities in terms of moral character, intellectual aptitude and physical ability.

SICHUAN RIBAO Article

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Cao Dongcai [2580 2767 2624]: "The Work of Recruiting Pilot Trainees is Launched on a General Scale in Sichuan Province"]

[Text] The work of recruiting pilot trainees in our province in 1983 has now been launched on a general scale in the 10 districts and municipalities of Chengdu, Chongqing, Hunjiang, Mianyang, Neijiang, Yongchuan, Nanchong, Leshan, Daxian, and Peiling.

The targets of this recruitment are male students scheduled to graduate from senior middle school this year and who are between 16 and 19 years of age. The recruitment of pilot trainees is an integral part of the recruitment programs of the military academies and schools. Their students must love the Communist Party [of China], cherish the socialist fatherland, and must

have strong and healthy bodies. They must demonstrate superior achievement in cultural and literacy training, and superior intelligence. The method of recruitment is as follows: On the basis of his own voluntary application, a student will be recommended by his school. After passing examinations in physical capability, political aptitude, literacy proficiency and intelligence level, he will eventually be selected for enrollment on the basis of superior performance.

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CSO: 4005/787

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

GUANGDONG MILITIA WORK TO BE ABSORBED INTO ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT PLANNING

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by Zhang Kequn [1728 0668 5028]: "The Provincial Government and the Provincial Military District Authority Convene a Meeting to Popularize the Experience of Guangzhou"]

[Text] The People's Government of Guangdong Province and the Guangdong Military District recently convened at Guangzhou an on-the-spot meeting to discuss the absorption of militia work into enterprise management planning and to popularize the experience of Guangzhou in reforming militia work.

Since March of last year, Guangzhou municipality has, on the basis of new conditions and new problems which have emerged after the gradual reforming of the economic systems of individual enterprise units and the constant improvement of all sorts of systems of production responsibility, and by learning from experiences of other places, absorbed the work of constructing the militia into enterprise management plans. In the last year, units above [commercial] company level have sent out nearly a thousand work teams to go deeply into basic level units to investigate and conduct spot experimentations, thus completing the preliminary work for searching out a new path which would be suitable for conditions in Guangzhou. What they did was: They absorbed militia work into the work plans of the Party Committee and those of the administrative leadership. They absorbed the training of the militia and other related activities into the plans for production management and work-hours utilization. They absorbed the political education of the militia into staff and workers education plans. They absorbed the special armed professional cadres and the militia cadres into the cadre management plans of the individual units' Party committees. They absorbed the militia's weapons and equipment into the equipment maintenance and security management plans of the various units. They absorbed the militia's operational funds into the pertinent enterprises' financial management plans, and they absorbed the militia's "innovation" activities into the pertinent unit's "innovation" activities and their labor productivity competition plans. In this way they have made militia work adapt more closely to the new systems of production management, made the Party committee's leadership in militia work more systematized and more concrete, and have made it possible for the militia to play a more effective role as the backbone and leaders in the construction of the "two civilizations." The opinion emerging from the meeting is that

the way in which Guangzhou Municipality has handled things is a good way for strengthening the management of the urban militia and a good measure for opening up a set of new conditions in urban militia work. The Provincial Party Committee of Guangdong, the Provincial Government and the General Staff Department and the General Political Department of the PLA have respectively registered their approval of this method.

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CSO: 4005/787

PRC MEDIA ON TAIWAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

TAIWAN COMPOSER IN BEIJING--Beijing, 10 Jun (XINHUA)--"It is quite natural to come to the land on which our forefathers laboured, lived and multiplied since ancient times," said Hou Teh-chien (Hau Tak-kin), composer of the Taiwan campus song "Descendants of the Dragon," on his arrival here on June 4. As a composer of folk songs, he said, it was logical to derive nourishment from the best source of artistic creation. Hou's family comes from Sichuan Province, southwest China, and he was born in Taiwan in 1956. "Descendants of the Dragon" is popular both in Taiwan and on the mainland of China. [Text] [OW101357 Beijing XINHUA in English 1109 GMT 10 Jun 83]

CSO: 4005/863

TAIWAN

CHINA POST LAUDS CLOSER TAIWAN-U.S. TIES

OW240215 Taipei CHINA POST in English 18 May 83 p 4

[Editorial: "Sino-American Ties"]

[Text] The announcement that the United States has approved the sale of fighter airplanes and other military hardware to the Republic of China is the latest indication of closer ties between the two nations. The announcement came at a time when relations between the United States and communist China are at the lowest ebb in the last decade.

There is sound logic in the announcement. The foreign policy of the Republic of China is based on the government's anti-communism policy and its firm stand against both the Soviet Union and the Chinese communists. Foreign Minister Chu Fu-sung pointed out that after World War II Russia never supported the Republic of China. Furthermore, he said, Moscow has always backed the Chinese communists.

The recent visit to Taiwan by former U.S. Senator George McGovern, Mr Chu explained, has cleared some of the lack of understanding of the American people. A valuable ally in this campaign is the Friends of Free China which recently held its national convention in Washington, D.C.

There has been impressive progress in recent months in strengthening relations with friendly countries, in promoting substantive relations with countries which do not have formal diplomatic relations with the Republic of China as well as in winning support from newly-independent nations. Mr Chu added: "The ROC is gaining international recognition because of its strategic and trade activities and our cooperation in science and technology. The Republic of China is not a weak nation. It is a nation that inspires respect, and a force to be reckoned with."

Significant progress continues to be achieved in the fields of politics, the military, the economy, trade and cultural exchanges, which mean people-to-people relations. The minister of foreign affairs insists the nation's diplomatic policy is not too conservative. He explained: "The international scene is changing constantly and we change accordingly."

In contrast, the Chinese communist regime has sent our various groups, including journalists and trade representatives to Latin American and African

countries in an effort to alienate relations with the Republic of China. Mr Chu said, "We are well prepared for this sort of thing and we are taking effective measures to counter these communist tricks."

There is an old Chinese saying: "A just man is never isolated; he is bound to win the friendship of people." The Republic of China, which always values freedom and democracy and works hard to promote world peace, will certainly win more friends in the days to come.

CSO: 4000/144

TAIWAN

CHINA POST EDITORIAL ON ARMS MODERNIZATION

OW271427 Taipei CHINA POST in English 23 May 83 p 4

[Text] The Republic of China's armed forces have made considerable progress and realized great achievements in the last five years, said General Hao Pei-tsun, chief of the General Staff of the Ministry of National Defense, recently.

Gen Hao said that the armed forces will continue to modernize their arsenal to improve their chances for victory in any war that could break out in the future.

This announcement was important and welcome. It has given people on this island bastion increased confidence in its security and in the recovery of the mainland.

Today the threat to the security to the island bastion of Taiwan comes from the communist-controlled mainland. There are arguments concerning whether communist China could mount an all-out attack on Taiwan. To succeed in such an attack, the communists would have to gain superiority in the Taiwan Strait. Perhaps Peking shrinks from waging war in the Strait at this time, for fear that it may suffer losses that are too costly.

It must be emphasized, however, that Peking will never give up its plans to destroy the Republic of China on Taiwan. The ROC on Taiwan, with the strong appeal it has for the Chinese suffering under communist rule, will ultimately deal the fatal blow to the Peking regime. Should Peking ever feel it has gained sufficient military power to make the attack, it will not hesitate to send its troops across the Strait.

Taiwan's strategic importance makes it vital to the security of countries in the Asian Pacific region and the United States. This is why the United States' own interest calls for supplying the ROC with the latest models of weapons, especially high-performance fighter planes. Taiwan is the key link in the American defense line which stretches from South Korea through the Philippines, Burma, Malaysia, and Singapore all the way to Australia and New Zealand.

If this line should be broken, the United States would be forced to retreat all the way to California. Moreover, the United States does not have even the

semblance of a merchant marine capable of maintaining its supply line to Asia. Instead, the U.S. must depend on the merchant marine of the ROC.

In the past year the Americans appear to have gradually realized the need to help the ROC strengthen its defenses. There must be more such efforts if the ROC is to preserve its role as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in the defense of the West Pacific.

CSO: 4000/144

TAIWAN

PHILIPPINE ENVOY ON FRIENDSHIP WITH TAIWAN

OW111513 Taipei CNA in English 1359 GMT 11 Jun 83

[Text] Taipei, 11 Jun (CNA)--Narciso Ramos, representative of the Asian Exchange Center in Taipei of the Philippines, stressed Saturday that no matter what drastic, turbulent or chaotic changes may take place in the world, Chinese-Filipino friendship will endure forever.

In a statement released on the eve of the Philippine National Day which falls on 12 June, Ramos said, "although, for reasons beyond our control, our diplomatic relations have been broken, there are still many other common interests--geographic, ethnic, social, cultural, and economic--that bind us and hold us together."

"On this day, we Filipinos reaffirm our eternal devotion to the principles of freedom and democracy, to the rule of law, and to the majesty of justice and order and to the inviolability of human right."

Ramos, who is former foreign minister of the Philippines, said, "We Filipinos in Taiwan are happy to observe our national day in the unfettered atmosphere of free China. Here you enjoy the basic freedoms of man which we also possess and to which we firmly adhere."

CSO: 4000/144

TAIWAN

TAIWAN PAPER OFFERS ADVICE TO ROK ON HIJACKERS

OW220837 Taipei LIEN HO PAO in Chinese 16 May 83 p 2

[Editorial: "We Expect Our Korean Friends To Pay Attention to Our Stand"]

[Excerpts] The Republic of China Committee of Various Circles in support of the Six Freedom-Seekers Who Flew From the Mainland to Korea, established on the morning of 14 May at a meeting at the Free China Relief Association, issued a declaration calling on the Korean authorities to take the stand for human rights, freedom and justice by respecting the wishes of the six freedom-seekers, treating them with leniency in a fair, reasonable and lawful manner and sending them to the Republic of China soon.

The Chinese public has very clearly and strongly expressed its attitude with regard to this case. And our government has also from the very beginning expressed our country's solemn and just stand.

However, we cannot but regret about quite a few things in the way our Korean friends have handled the case of the six freedom-seekers who seized control of an aircraft and had it land on the Chunchon Airfield in Korea. Considering the profound traditional friendship between China and Korea, we have no wish to say more here. But we want to remind the Korean Government: It is probably just a wishful thinking to make use of this case to establish direct contact with the Chinese Communists so as to achieve the goal of demoralizing the North Korean communist regime and reunify the Korean Peninsula. Moreover, once it turns out to be a miscalculation, it is possible that Korea will bring upon itself the consequence of destroying its consistent anticomunist stand, even losing its national integrity.

It is entirely based on the many years of profound friendship between us and our deep understanding of the communist party that we so frankly offer our advise to our Korean friends. The Chinese Communists and North Korea are not only jackals of the same lair, but are both diehard communist parties. Both aim to swallow up the Republic of China's reconstruction base and the Republic of Korea by any means. Moreover, owing to their geological relations, the two have been closely collaborating since the Korea war. Therefore, it is virtually impossible for the

Republic of Korea to use this incident to break up the close relations between the two communist parties. Such being the facts, why should the Republic of Korea turn what by nature is a political case of seizing an aircraft for freedom into a judicial case?

Now the Korean Government has decided to turn the case over to the judicial authorities for trial. We still sincerely hope that the Korean friends will value the many years of precious friendship with our country, respect the wishes of the six freedom-seekers on the basis of their consistent anticommunist stand and humanitarian spirit and send the six people to the Republic of China at an early date. They must not continue to use this case as a bargaining counter to establish relations with the Chinese Communists. Otherwise, damaged will not only be Sino-Korean friendship, but, probably more so, Korea's long anticommunist stand.

CSO: 4005/863

TAIWAN

PAPER CRITICIZES ROK, JAPAN ON HIJACK HANDLING

OW010235 Taipei TZU LI WAN PAO in Chinese 25 May 83 p 4

[*"Tzu Li Forum"* article by Ou-yang Cheng-chai: "How Could Korea Destroy Its Own Great Wall?"]

[Text] In handling the case of the heroes from mainland China who seized a plane and forced it to land in South Korea, South Korea has used political means to deal with communist China and legal means to handle the freedom-seekers. The damage caused is many-sided, but Korea itself will be hurt most.

Since the 1951 Korean War, the division of South and North Korea has almost become a fixed pattern. North Korea follows the Chinese and Russian communists. South Korea is allied with the United States, which champions democracy and freedom and has enjoyed political stability, economic prosperity and growth in military power. Although it is under pressure from neighboring communist forces, it has obtained greater support from the free world. In the incident of the seizure of an aircraft by six brave people, however, South Korea has actually turned opportunistic and directly dealt with a large group of "official visitors" from communist China. In a single day, its image in the free world has changed entirely. If war should break out again, as it did 30 years ago, between South and North Korea, even though South Korea might still obtain foreign aid, how could it expect universal support from the forces of freedom?

Feeling the pressures from North Korea and the Soviet Union, South Korea may think that, by starting a relationship with communist China, it can offset the pressures from North Korea and the Soviet Union. Could it be that South Korea thinks that in mutual interests it is more important to communist China than North Korea? If the confrontation between the Chinese and Russian communists continues, North Korea will naturally continue to maneuver like a lever between the two sides. If the Chinese and Russian communists should tend toward reconciliation, North Korea's pressures against the south would only increase, unless South Korea is prepared to break with the free world and throw itself into the embrace of the Chinese and Russian communists, together with North Korea.

Shortly after the war, Japan began to use South Korea as a buffer zone against expansion of the Chinese and Russian communists. Like today's Korea Japan has all along enjoyed free world, and especially U.S., support. But Japan, too, wants to use North Korea as a softening or balancing force against South Korea. Each time Japan gets in touch with North Korea, South Korea raises a cry of warning and does all it can to hold Japan back. Now that South Korea has seen fit to negotiate "open" and "secret" deals with communist China in a swaggering manner, it naturally will have no more reason to object to any future dealings between Japan and North Korea. The Japanese Government has given permission for three North Korean representatives to attend, together with South Korean representatives, the Afro-Asian jurists conference convened in Tokyo on 16 May. The North Korean representatives also obtained Japanese visas in Peiping, which had been held up for a long time previously. Official Japanese sources said that the visas had nothing to do with South Korea's handling of the case of the seizure of the airliner by the six mainland Chinese. The question is, did it really have nothing to do with South Korea's handling of the incident? Japan never forgoes an opportunity to take advantage of any international incident. How can it forgo the opportunity to take advantage of the example set by South Korea itself?

Evidently South Korea believes that it will gain more through contacts with the Chinese Communists than with the Republic of China, and that it will not suffer any loss, even if this action makes the Republic of China unhappy. It must be realized that South Korea's situation in the world is similar to that of the Republic of China. Only by helping each other will the two nations reap benefits. South Korea will be making a grave error, if it believes that it is superior to the Republic of China. It should be understood that, although the Republic of China is willing to maintain extensive ties with South Korea, it needs little from South Korea. On the other hand, the Republic of China is the gate from South Korea to the Western Hemisphere. If relations between the two countries deteriorate, the Republic of China would suffer little, while South Korea would suffer more. If this is true, the situation would sadden our own peoples, while gladdening our enemies.

It was with the support of the Republic of China that South Korea achieved independence after World War II. It has little experience in handling foreign affairs and other related matters. Therefore, it has committed such a mistake. After prudent deliberations, it may turn back. What surprises us is the fact that many of our own people's speeches, reports and actions are "irrelevant to the subject." I think that those who have the opportunity to speak out and work out measures in the realm of international affairs should take more factors into consideration, such as the target, background and methods, as well as the issue of whether or not such methods are effective. South Korea is not the United States. Nor is it Japan. In dealing with South Korea, we must not use the same methods as when dealing with the United States or Japan. We should take other factors into consideration. On the other hand, South Korea is located in one of the most dangerous zones in the world. How could it give up its stand and the foundation of its success and stability for the past three decades? It would destroy its own great wall, if it made moves without careful thought!

CSO: 4005/863

TAIWAN

SCHOLARS DISCUSS ROK HANDLING OF PRC HIJACKERS

OW270305 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 25 May 83

[Text] Foreign affairs experts and scholars in Taipei said Tuesday: The fact that South Korea opened its doors in 1973 to improve relations with communist countries should not in any way affect the relations between that country and the Republic of China.

The experts were convened by Minister of Foreign Affairs Chu Fu-song to discuss the way in which the South Korean Government has handled the case of six freedom-seekers being held in Seoul for seizing a Red Chinese passenger plane. Also under discussion were remarks by Korean Foreign Minister Yi Pom-sok before the South Korean National Assembly following direct negotiations with the Chinese communist regime for the return of the plane, passengers and crew. Yi's statement reflecting hopes that the negotiations would lead to improved relations between South Korea and the regime was not appreciated in Taipei, and strong protests were sounded from various quarters.

The scholars meeting Tuesday pointed out, however, that South Korea announced its desire to improve relations with what it termed nonhostile communist countries as long ago as 1973, although no communist country has agreed to open diplomatic relations with Seoul since then. The Korean Government even went so far as to revoke its anticommunism law in an effort to improve relations with communist countries. Since this has been the policy of the South Korean Government for the last decade, the scholars said, there is no reason why relations between the Republic of China and South Korea should be affected by that policy at this time.

Included in the forum were top professors from the Foreign Affairs Institute of National Chengchih University, Tanchiang University, director of the Society for Strategic Studies. General Wego Chiang and other top-ranking government officials were also present.

CSO: 4000/144

TAIWAN

TAIWAN PROMOTES TIES WITH EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

OW241225 Taipei CNA in English 0932 GMT 24 May 83

[Text] Taipei, 24 May (CNA)--The government is strengthening substantive relations with European countries, the Executive Yuan said Monday.

In a written reply to Legislator Hung Chao-nan's interpellation, the Executive Yuan said that the government has been intensifying its efforts to promote relations with European nations over many years.

To achieve the goal, the government organized a procurement mission to Austria in 1980. The mission purchased a total of U.S. dollars 100 million worth of commodities there and successfully attracted the attention of European countries toward the Republic of China.

In 1981, the government sponsored another procurement mission to the Netherlands. The mission bought Dutch commodities valued at 235 million guilders (about U.S. dollars 84 million). The second "buy Dutch" mission under the government's sponsorship visited Holland last month and procured a total of U.S. dollars 60 million worth of goods from that western European nation.

The government's efforts have won sound responses from the European side, the Executive Yuan said. Many European banking institutions recently have set or applied to set up branches and representative offices here and European companies have sponsored several product and technology shows in this nation, the Executive Yuan explained.

The government will continue to exchange economic and trading relations with European nations, the Executive Yuan pledged.

CSO: 4000/144

TAIWAN

TAIWAN-ROK BUSINESS MEETING STRESSES COOPERATION

OW250625 Taipei CNA in English 0256 GMT 25 May 83

[Text] Taipei, 25 May (CNA)--Participants to the Seventh Sino-South Korean Small and Medium Enterprises Meeting agreed Tuesday that the two nations should not only compete but also cooperate with each other so as to maintain rapid economic growth and cope with changes in the international market.

Speaking at the opening ceremony of the meeting, Kim Chong-kon, Korean ambassador to the Republic of China, said that facing trade protectionism in many industrialized countries, the two nations should make more efforts in cooperation with each other.

He also pointed out that competition between the two nations may help both countries to achieve better economic development.

M. T. Wu, vice minister of economic affairs, stressed at the meeting that the two nations should cooperate in exploring new markets, promoting the development of science and technology and exploiting natural resources.

The participants were divided into four groups to hold panel discussions Tuesday afternoon.

More than 130 Chinese and Korean delegates are participating in the four-day discussions. They include government officials, scholars, and representatives of banking institutions and the small and medium enterprises of the two nations.

CSO: 4000/144

TAIWAN

TAIWAN PREMIER MEETS LATIN AMERICAN JOURNALISTS

OW260337 Taipei CNA in English 0248 GMT 26 May 83

[Text] Taipei, 26 May (CNA)--The Republic of China would like to share with Latin American countries its experiences in fighting communism, thus teaming up together to prevent communist infiltration and keeping freedom and peace of the world, Premier Sun Yun-hsuan said to a delegation of Latin American journalists Wednesday.

The eight-member delegation, which arrived in Taipei 16 May for a 10-day visit, paid courtesy call to Premier Sun at 3 p.m. in the company of James Soong, director general of the Government Information Office.

Answering the visitors' questions, the premier pointed out that Chinese people on the mainland have been questioning why the difference between life there and life here is becoming larger everyday. Now, they are not only asking to learn from Taiwan, but also looking for every possible chance to flee to freedom.

The Republic of China's call for the reunification of China through the three principles of the people has received echoes of support from Chinese compatriots from all around the world. The repeated freedom-seeking attempts have proved that Chinese people on the mainland have been completely disillusioned with communism, the premier said.

Sun pointed out that the main objects of international communist infiltration are students, labor unions, mass communication circles and the military. The Republic of China [ROC] has been struggling with communists for decades, and is ready to share its anti-communist experiences with Latin American countries in an effort to prevent communist infiltration in that region.

He also said that the government of the ROC is encouraging private enterprises to make investments in Central and South America. The government is also considering importation of more raw materials from there so as to strengthen trade relations. The delegation, which is composed of noted journalists from Peru, Costa Rica, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Paraguay, Argentina and Haiti, has concluded its tour program and is scheduled to leave Thursday.

CSO: 4000/144

TAIWAN

BRIEFS

KOREAN AIRLINES CUTS DENIED--Taipei, 27 May (CNA)--The Ministry of Communication today denied a wire service report that the Chinese Government has decided to terminate three air agreements with the Korean Airlines (KAL) and slashing KAL flights to Taipei by half. "The report is at variance with fact," a ministry spokesman said. "The number of KAL flights to Taipei is a matter concerning agreements between China Airlines (CAL) and KAL, and the two airlines are handling the case in accordance with their agreements." [Text] [OW271021 Taipei CNA in English 1011 GMT 27 May 83]

BROADCAST OFFICIAL VISITS KINMEN--Kinmen, 27 May (CNA)--General Manager of the South African Broadcasting Corp (SABC) J. A. Ecstein paid a one-day visit to Kinmen 26 May to have a better understanding of the Republic of China's frontline bastion. Accompanied by government officials, Ecstein toured Mashan broadcasting post, heavy artillery fields, an underground hospital, and the Kinmen Cultural Village. He also heard a briefing on Kinmen's defense establishments and reconstruction works at the Chukwang Building. Ecstein is scheduled to end his 10-day visit in the Republic of China on 1 June. [Text] [OW280315 Taipei CNA in English 0240 GMT 28 May 83]

CSO: 4000/144

CHENG MING PREDICTS LI XIANNIAN TO BE PRESIDENT

HK090835 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 68, 1 Jun 83 pp 6-8

[Article by Lo Ping [5012 03932: "Deng Xiaoping Recommends Li Xiannian To Be State President"]

[Text] The opening day of the Sixth NPC is getting closer and closer. This is an unusual NPC because it is due to elect the state president and other state leaders. Generally speaking, the subjects political news reports from Beijing at this time should most probably be "the Sixth NPC sets the city agog" or "the state president candidate sets the city agog," and so on. However, if this is the case, it will be completely blind to reality and just based on assumptions.

The people in Beijing (particularly the youngsters) who I have contacted recently are generally not interested in the NPC, CPPCC, or the election of the state president. As a topic of conversation, the influence of the NPC is far inferior to the influence of the "Da San Yuan," which is a newly-opened restaurant in Jingxi Street, Beijing. The restaurant is the most luxurious in Beijing in which the most expensive dish costs 200 yuan (around HK\$700). It is said that the restaurant is invested in by a Hong Kong investor and is actually managed by the youngest son of Ye Jianying.

The more popular topic of conversation is the recent soaring of prices. The price of a jin of upripe, small bananas is 1.2 yuan. Many goods and materials are bought in bulk by illegal brokers and sold at a high price. Thus, prices are soaring high. Furthermore, the hijack incident of airliner 296 flying from Shenyang to Shanghai is also a topic of the Beijing public's concern. Does this mean that nobody in Beijing is interested in politics? That is not so either. One of my friends' homes is frequently visited by many important guests. They usually talk briskly once they meet and the focus of discussion is always on politics. In Mao Zedong's view, this is probably a mini "petoefi club." I was in this "club" one night and met with my new and old friends. They totalled seven in number. Two of them are members of the CPPCC and another is a deputy to the NPC. After we met, our topic of discussion that night was not on trivial matters but from prices to the hijack, and from the hijack to the present NPC session.

I went straight to the point and asked, "According to some internal messages and overseas reactions, the Sixth NPC is due to elect Li Xiannian the state president. Is this correct?"

The seven gentlemen said with one voice: The question has been openly answered in the RENMIN RIBAO.

I knew their meaning. Although the RENMIN RIBAO never openly revealed who would assume the post of state president, we can see what is going to happen from the news reports (including pictures) since 1 May. This is because the "exposure" of Li Xiannian is greater than before. This is an old gimmick of the propaganda organs of communist China. When someone is going to assume a key post, his name and picture will frequently appear in the news prior to that time. The practice is to mold the public opinion or, saying it in fine words, to "deliberate." They, in fact, bring out the chosen but officially unannounced candidate to the public so as to let everyone become mentally prepared.

#### A Quotation From Deng Xiaoping

My friends said: The top-ranking officials of communist China have chosen Li Xiannian to be the state president and Peng Chong to be the chairman of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee, though this has not been officially announced. They said that a top-ranking official meeting held recently, Deng Xiaoping had said the following: Marshal Ye is already retired. I am the advisor (the chairman of the advisory committee). Old Chen is responsible for discipline (the chairman of the Commission for Inspecting Discipline). And the post of state president should be held by Li Xiannian. I have declared several times before that I will not assume this post. Therefore, Li Xiannian will inevitably assume the post of state president.

However, the "decision" was not made a long time ago. Though the top leadership of the CPC Central Committee had taken Li Xiannian into account on the issue of state presidential candidate in the past, the issue remained unsolved. Some people had suggested letting Zhao Ziyang assume the post. But he would be unable to hold the post of premier after that. Though Zhao Ziyang may be replaced by Wan Li in the post of premier, his talent cannot be brought into play. Originally, the most qualified candidate on this matter is Xi Zhongxun. But he lacks reputation in the state and, therefore, is not included in the state president candidates' name list.

In fact, Deng Xiaoping enjoys the popular confidence, especially in the State Council, where there is a common saying that "nobody will be the state president but Deng." Many veteran cadres have also said that Deng may assume the post.

However, Deng Xiaoping declined the appointment again and again. His action is not incomprehensible. The power of state president stipulated in the present Constitution is inferior to that stipulated in the first Constitution. The most remarkable difference is that the present state president has no military power, which is in the hands of the chairmen of the CPC and the State

Military Commission. Thus, Deng Xiaoping had better not hold the post of state president if he wants to hold military power in his hands. And having military power in hand is the most important thing in view of the overall situation. In comparison, a state president without military power is not important any more but just a ceremonial leader. As for the chairman of the State Military Commission, the chosen candidate will be either Deng Xiaoping or his military assistant, Yang Shangkun.

Of course, the force that firmly supports Deng Xiaoping to be the state president still exists. Therefore, it is impossible to absolutely deny the possibility that he will hold that post, though the possibility is relatively low. We may expect that when the Sixth NPC elects the state president, Li Xiannian will not necessarily be fully supported while Deng Xiaoping will not receive any vote (that is not the result of internal direction).

As for the vice-president of the state, there are two popular candidates: Xi Zhongxun and Liao Chengzhi. Liao Chengzhi has a certain reunification value due to his special political background. Xi Zhongxun is a faithful follower of Deng Xiaoping and is thought of highly and supported by him. Thus, the possibility of Xi Zhongxun assuming the post is quite high.

#### Political Foundation Stone of Li Xiannian

Speaking of Li Xiannian, people may think of two groups of people: one of them is Ye Jianying, Hua Guofeng, and so on; and the other group is Yu Qiuli, Kang Shien, Song Zhenming, and so on.

The relations between Li Xiannian and Hua Guofeng and Ye Jianying are relatively good, as everyone knows. Hua Guofeng has had his day and now is just a ceremonial member of the CPC Central Committee. Even his original leading group has been routed. Ye Jianying has retired as standing committee chairman of the NPC. Though his position in the party has not changed, his real power is weakened.

Yu Qiuli and Keng Shien are heads of the previous petroleum faction which was supported backstage by Li Xiannian some time ago. Hua Quofeng was also one of the supporters. At one time, the petroleum faction controlled the economic power of the state. In that period, Yu Qiuli was the vice premier and minister of the State Planning Commission. Kang Shien was the vice premier and minister of the State Economic Commission, and Song Zhenming was the petroleum minister. Yu Qiuli was even a member of the Political Bureau and a secretary of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat. So he was very powerful. But, generally speaking, the petroleum faction was gradually losing power and influence around the Third Session of the Fifth NPC. At first, Song Zhenming was ousted from his office because of the capsizing of "Bohai No 2" oil rig. Hua Guofeng was forced to resign from the office of premier. Yu Giuli was transferred to the State Energy Commission as minister. Later on, during the streamlining of the State Council, Yu Giuli and Kang Shien were transferred from the offices of vice premier to be members of the State Council, but they no longer hold any government post. It was the time when the petroleum faction was sinking in the world.

However, after the 12th CPC National Congress, Yu Giuli remained as a member of the Political Bureau and a secretary of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat. He replaced Wei Guoqing soon afterward and assumed the office of director of the PLA General Political Department. Many people were surprised by the change. But my friends said that the power and influence of the petroleum faction in the State Council has been broken up and overwhelmed since then.

Under these circumstances, the foundation of Li Xiannian on the political stage was greatly weakened. Thus, it is not surprising to see a person like him as state president (possibly as a temporary state president).

"The general masses of Beijing pay no attention to the opening of the Sixth NPC, the opening of the Sixth CPPCC, or the election of the state president. Is it because they have no connection with the public or is it a matter of the CPC?" I asked.

#### Shock Waves That Shake People's Hearts

My friends said that this was possible. One of the CPPCC members said, "In many people's view, the so-called Communist Party leadership actually means that the Communist Party decides on all kinds of state matters, such as the state president candidate. The so-called NPC and elections are just formalism." His words were like a shock wave that shook my mind. "How dare you talk like this!" I said to myself.

However, there were more daring words coming. "For example, in early February of this year, an enlarged conference of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau (which also included the CPC Central Committee secretaries and some of the members of the CPC Central Committee) agreed to the resignation of Ye Jianying from the office of chairman of the NPC Standing Committee. The conference transmitted a No 1 document afterward and 'submitted to the NPC for approval.' Later, Ye Yingying submitted a resignation letter to the NPC Standing Committee on 25 February and it was approved by the NPC Standing Committee on 5 March. Thus, we can see that the NPC Standing Committee acts in compliance with the wish of the CPC Central Committee. Matters like the election of state president is the same thing after all! This is called 'party leadership' or...."

Another CPPCC member interrupted and said, "Nobody will dare to utter a sound on the party's decisions on important issues, even though they resent them in their hearts."

I said, "There are two educational personages and an artist from Hong Kong who are members of the CPPCC. Six months ago at a CPPCC charter saying that "no statement made by any member of the CPPCC will be investigated or held legally accountable," which is now deleted. The deletion will result in CPPCC members only saying words of praise, speaking 'like the CPPCC,' and telling lies. "Do you think that we can only speak 'like the CPPCC' at the conference?"

The two CPPCC members unanimously answered no. They said: There are many sharp criticisms from CPPCC members, no matter whether they are exposing issues or making their comments. A CPPCC member said, "some issue exposures are astonishing. For example, a Fujian member said openly that Fujian has been making great advances under the administration of Xian Nan. But there are many problems that remain unsolved. Five counties in the province are planting opium on the sly. It is hard to detect this because they interplant it with other crops. In addition, there are many prostitutes in the province. According to the information of the public security bureau, their number amounts to 1,000. Do you think that the situation is shocking?" Another CPPCC member said, "Right. Had I not attended the CPPCC conferences, I would not know that there are 50,000 dull, slow-witted and blockhead people in Shangluo, Shaanxi, or that there are 120 million people suffering from hepatitis in the country and the illness is now listed as the 'scourge of the state.'"

"Do those CPPCC members who crossed over from the Nationalist side expose issues daringly?" I asked.

"The way Huang Xiang is exposing issues is the most daring. He said: Liang Huifu, a Nationalist pilot who crossed over into the liberated area with a plane in 1949, is now 62 years old. But he has never been assigned any work since then and he is badly off. Sun Suifang and Sun Suifen, granddaughters of Dr Sun Yat-sen, had reported the matter to parties concerned. But the situation remains unchanged. His treatment is far inferior to that of Huang Zhicheng, and attention paid to veteran cross-over personages is not enough."

#### Confidence Crisis Within Democratic Parties

"Zeng Zhaoke, who was expelled by the British Hong Kong Government a few years ago, and held a teaching post later on in Jinan University, Guangzhou, also boldly exposed issues at CPPCC conferences. He said, 'Many schools in Me County and Zhanjiang are going to collapse because there is no money to pay for repair work. In some schools, several school teachers have to sleep together in one bed.'"

"Some people reported the situation of lack of confidence toward the Communist Party among democratic parties. For example, Mr Chen, secretary general of the Standing Committee of Guangdong Provincial People's Congress, reported at a CPPCC conference that some people use the slogans 'long-term coexistence and mutual supervision' and 'treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe' to write antithetical couplets. In addition to the two vertical scrolls, they added a horizontal one called 'Let's hope so.' It implicates that things 'may not necessarily turn out that way.' Thus, we can see that there is a confidence crisis toward the communist Party among democratic parties."

"Right. A professor from Fudan University also reported the same situation. He said: There is an engineer who wants to join the Jiusan Society. But the leader asked him, 'As you will be admitted into the Communist Party, why do you

"'want to join a democratic party?' This story also reflects the problem."

#### Recommendation To Abolish Chairman Mao's Mausoleum

"There is also another sharp view, that is, to abolish the Mao's Mausoleum. And the number of people who gave the view is more than one."

"Yuan Hansu of the Jiusan Society said: We must carefully weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the right to strike stipulated in the Constitution. I have thought it over for the whole night without any appropriate plan. Because the original Constitution stipulated the right to strike." This CPPCC member was opposing the deletion of right to strike.

"Mr Zhang, another CPPCC member, said at a CPPCC conference that every leading cadre in his room should paste up a brief note saying 'Am I observing the Constitution? Have I violated the Constitution?' His statement was jeered at the conference."

My friends were talking so busily that I did not have a chance to interrupt. While listening to their discussion [words indistinct] about CPPCC conferences which listened to recommendations with any actual action. He deeply felt that the Communist Party unfairly treated the patriotic veterans who had courage to speak frankly.

Democracy is not a kind of decoration. Wearing a decoration which is not functioning is more redundant than doing without. In a country like China, in which democracy is so badly needed that it is just like a hungry man needing bread, any decoration, even the prettiest one, is meaningless to life. The Communist Party values the NPC and CPPCC relatively highly at present, in contrast to the Mao Zedong period when the Constitution, public opinion, democracy, and the democratic parties were despised. After all, the case of resignation of Ye Jianing was handled through the necessary Constitutional procedures. However, have the NPC and CPPCC really extricated themselves from their destiny of merely as a kind of decoration? Turning the decoration into the most needed thing will be very fortunate indeed for the people and for the state!

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

HSIN WAN PAO ON YOODE'S SPEECH, SINO-BRITISH TALKS

HK220916 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 22 May 83 p 1

[ "New Talks" column: "Youde's Speech and the Sino-British Talks" ]

[Text] Sir Edward Youde and Lord MacLehose gave separate speeches on the future of Hong Kong. Youde is the incumbent governor of Hong Kong, appointed by the British Government. MacLehose is his predecessor and the holder of the title of Lord. He is a member of the British Parliament and holds no official post. The two, of course, were speaking in totally different capacities. The Hong Kong Government has all along insisted that on the future of Hong Kong, only official announcements are to be accepted.

Youde's television speech took the form of answers to questions by a British correspondent. But this was obviously an arrangement designed to reveal official information.

Youde said: "I believe that Hong Kong has a really good future." He said: "And I say that not just off the top of my head. I think that the talks are moving in the right direction; I think, still, that a settlement can be reached which will be acceptable; I think there is underlying strength in the economy (of Hong Kong) which is coming through. I say it is a government here which is fully determined to and committed, publicly committed, to continue to invest in this territory. Now, to me, those are ingredients for success and certainly no basis for pessimism." What he said is well founded.

Though the progress of the Sino-British diplomatic talks is kept secret, the attitude now revealed by Youde as the supreme British official assigned to Hong Kong has provided proof for his conclusion that "the talks are moving in the right direction."

To the question about what flag will be flying over Hong Kong in 20 years' time, Youde said: "I would think the best thing for people to do is not to look at details of what might happen. What matters in this city, to me, is what the people of Hong Kong are looking for, and I think what they are looking for is a continuation of the lifestyle they enjoy, which is the freedom to come and go and to do their own thing, and they are looking for an assurance of continuity. And that is what we are looking for, too."

The question of what flag will be flying over Hong Kong is a concrete matter and also a major matter of principle. A national flag represents the sovereignty of a state. And this is indeed a serious matter. If China reclaims sovereignty over Hong Kong not later than 1997, a change of flags is, of course, necessary.

A well trained diplomat, Youde, of course, knows that there cannot be any ambiguity about the question of the flag. He was answering the question in his capacity as an official appointed by the British Queen. He did not insist on the British flag and did not brush off this question as part of the secret talks to be solved later. Instead, he said that the continuation of the lifestyle, as looked for by the people of Hong Kong, can be assured. This is, indeed, an initial development in the right direction compared with the open stand taken by British officials in the past.

Last September, the British prime minister reached agreement during his visit to China on diplomatic talks between China and Britain on the future of Hong Kong. But after her return from Beijing to Hong Kong, Lady Thatcher said much that could not be accepted by the people of China, including the residents of Hong Kong. First, she said that the three unequal treaties on Hong Kong were still "in force," to be "continuously observed." Second, she said that Britain had "moral obligations" to the residents of Hong Kong. People know that this is one reason why the Sino-British talks cannot proceed smoothly. Now, Youde's television speech at least marks a change in this respect. The hope for any progress in the Sino-British talks is based on the development of the British stand "in the right direction." This is only the beginning of a process, though.

Given his understanding of the British Government's stand, Youde pointed out the results achieved in the Sino-British talks and expressed optimism for the future of Hong Kong. This conclusion is worth being taken as not just something said at random.

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YOUTH GROUP GIVES UK LETTER ON HONG KONG FUTURE

HK270920 Hong Kong HSIN PAO in Chinese 27 May 83 p 4

[Report: "Written Opinion Submitted To British Government; Youth Delegation To Visit London"]

[Text] Lee Peng-fei, head of the Hong Kong delegation of youths from various walks of life, as well as unofficial member of the Legislative Council, yesterday disclosed that they have already handed the written opinion on Hong Kong's future, which was delivered to NPC Vice Chairman Xi Zhongxun, to the Hong Kong Government to be submitted to London.

In a radio interview yesterday, Le Peng-fei said that in the meeting between the delegation and Xi Zhongxun, Xi Zhongxun suggested that they submit the written opinion to London for consideration. While in Hong Kong, after a discussion, they believed that they had the duty to submit the written opinion to the British Government. He expressed that Hong Kong's future is of immediate concern to them and they must let the two governments know their opinion, whether right or wrong.

This paper has also been informed that the delegation members have the intention of forming a delegation to visit London and express their views on Hong Kong's future to the British Government. It is learned that the visit is being considered and whether there will actually be such a visit in the future depends on the opinions of all members. That the delegation has the intention of visiting London has resulted from the remarks made by Xi Zhongxun, who said while meeting with them: "You must not press China alone." Mr Xi said that they should also give their opinions to Britain and the Hong Kong Government.

The written opinion delivered by the delegation to the PRC Government reportedly reached Sir Edward Youde, the Hong Kong governor, on Tuesday. According to a member of the delegation, in their meeting with Xi Zhongxun, both aides exchanged their views on Hong Kong's future in a cordial atmosphere, and the meeting was beneficial to understanding each other.

He continued that after the meeting, Chinese leaders realized that the current economic slump in Hong Kong is due to the lack of confidence on Hong Kong's future, apart from being affected by the world economic recession.

During the meeting, Xi Zhongxun said that China highly appreciated British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher's character and ability. However, Mr Xi, while describing Mrs Thatcher's visit of last September as a chess game, believed that her first step was wrong. The Chinese side believes that the second step to be taken by the British Government will be correct. In fact, they are aware that Britain has recently changed its attitude. He hoped that both sides would go on a correct direction and begin negotiations as soon as possible.

China's Sixth NPC is scheduled to be held beginning 6 June, and it will last as long as 3 weeks. For this reason, it is impossible for Sino-British negotiations to make any substantial progress during this period.

Meanwhile, according to sources in Beijing, Xi Zhongxun has read through the written opinion of the Hong Kong delegation of youths of different walks of life and has issued instructions. Pro-China organizations in Hong Kong have already received the photostat of his instructions. According to reports, Mr Xi believes that the greater part of the written opinion proceeds from the stand of the British Government.

#### **Xi Zhongxun Has Reservations on the Written Opinion of the Youth Delegation**

One view in the written opinion holds that it is inappropriate to strictly define 14 years as a transition period, as 14 years are not enough. Therefore, the delegation holds that there must be a natural development and all must be based on the opinion of the Hong Kong people.

Xi Zhongxun has many reservations on this point, believing that there exists some difference between the written opinion and the stand of the PRC Government on the issue of treating 14 years as a transition period.

Meanwhile, Wang Kuang, who will leave his office as first director of the Hong Kong XINHUA branch this month, told reporters yesterday at his farewell reception party that he had confidence in Hong Kong's future.

About 600 persons from various walks of life were invited to attend the reception party, including Sir Philip Haddon-Cave, the chief secretary; Robin McLaren, the political adviser; D. Akers-Jones, the secretary for city and New Territories; and well-known businessmen Li Ka-sing, Fu King-hei and Sir Lawrence Kadoorie.

Wang Kuang disclosed that he did not know his new appointment. Asked by reporters if he would assist Liao Chengzhi in handling the Hong Kong and Macao problems in the "Office of Hong Kong and Macao Affairs," he declined to make any comment.

The new first director, Xu Jiatun, has returned to Beijing from Guangzhou. Sources said that he will come to Hong Kong to take up his new position after the Sixth NPC.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

DENG YINGCHAO TELLS OF PRC CONCERN ON HONG KONG

HK210334 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 19 May 83 p 1

[Report: "Deng Yingchao Meets Liang Shu-yi; Hong Kong Issue Discussed"]

[Text] Beijing, 19 May--Deng Yingchao, vice chairman of the NPC, met Liang Shu-yi and eight other Hong Kong women in Beijing this morning.

During her talks with the Hong Kong women, Deng Yingchao touched on the future of Hong Kong. She said that China is very concerned about this question and hopes to hear more from the people of various circles on this issue.

The reception was given at 0900 in the Great Hall of the People. Both sides exchanged views for nearly 1 hour in a warm atmosphere.

The visiting delegation, which is led by Liang Shu-yi and Allen Lee and comprises youths from various circles in Hong Kong, arrived in Beijing on 16 May.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

PAI HSING DISCUSSES CIRCUMSTANCES OF LO FU CASE

HK071143 Hong Kong PAI HSING in Chinese No 49, 1 Jun 83 pp 17-19

[Article by Lu Keng [7120 6972] (20 May, 1983): "Doubtful Case of Lo Fu"--  
Passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] "The Yellow Crane Has Left For Good, The Ever Drifting White Clouds  
Filling One With a Sense of Emptiness"

At the invitation of Mr Lia Chengzhi, this correspondent went to Beijing on 10 July 1982. I gave some personal views on the future of Hong Kong. I was deeply impressed by the suggested introduction of "two systems for one country" by Communist China in its determination to maintain the prosperity of Hong Kong.

It was at this meeting with Mr Liao that this correspondent frankly raised the question about Lo Fu (Cheng-hsun). I stated that the case of Lo Fu had shocked press circles in Hong Kong. I said that Lo Fu had left a good impression on his friends and pointed out his principle in his everyday life. I stressed that his outstanding performance in his work might have aroused the jealousy of others. He might have been the victim of a frameup.

At this point, I said to Mr Liao, "You don't mind?" He said, "I don't mind." Therefore, I went on to say, "The Communist Party has been known for too many frameups in its past! I hope that there will be no more such cases."

Mr Liao, who had been leaning his back on the sofa, sat straight up on hearing what I said. Stern-faced, he said:

"Mr Lu, I spent 4 years in prison during the period of the KMT. In our own (communist) jail, I also spent more than 4 years. Therefore, believe me, I know well what is a frameup and what is not. Moreover, we are now bringing order out of chaos. It is unlike the time of the 'gang of four' when everything was turned upside down. Everything must now be done in a down-to-earth manner."

"As you say, Lo Fu then is not the victim of a frameup?"

"Of course not."

"Is there any evidence?"

"Of course there is."

"Some evidence may not be reliable!"

"he himself has pleaded guilty!"

"What has he pleaded guilty to?"

"Being a spy for the United States."

"This is just too absurd!"

"I also feel that it is very absurd!"

"I do not mean that it was absurd for Lo Fu to admit to being a spy. Instead, I just feel that the case is inconceivable."

"This case has been made very clear. I hope that you, Mr Lu, and your friends, will not show too much concern over it."

"I hope that the case will receive prudent attention!"

"It surely will."

Walking out of the Jiangsu Room of the Great Hall of the People, I called to mind certain disgusting cases where people were framed, or falsely and wrongly accused. I also thought of all kinds of victims of frameups that I encountered during my 22 years of prison life on the mainland of China. Of course, I also believe in the "reformists" headed by Deng Xiaoping, who has repeatedly stressed that he will not frame people. But the remaining pernicious influence of Mao Zedong cannot possibly be eliminated in a short period of time.

Do people not notice that in Hong Kong today, there are still people following Mao Zedong's doctrine advocating "endless pleasure in fighting the sky, endless pleasure in fighting the earth and endless pleasure in fighting people?"

Lo Cheng-hsun was convicted without an open trial. Even Fei Yimin was not allowed to be present at his trial. Neither was his family notified. This makes things more doubtful.

Why Do Questions Remain About the Lo Case?

Why do I still have questions about the case of Lo Fu?

"If Lo Fu had really been a spy for the United States, then he must have been the greatest actor in the world." This was what I said at a press conference with the Hong Kong ASIAN WEEKLY and the U.S. NEWSWEEK and the UNITED PRESS

INTERNATIONAL Press Agency on 16 and 17 May respectively, after the announcement of the conviction of Lo Fu.

Lo Fu could be said to have been both civil and courteous in his work performance, but never out of character. This "character" represented the principle of the Chinese communists. In his 5 years of contact with me, Lu Fu never leaked anything. When I aired my own views where some political problem was being raised in our conversation, Lo Fu also only listened quietly. The most he said was to give some explanations from the Chinese communist point of view. For example, I commented that the Chinese communist press policy had fallen behind the times, especially in cases where the leaders of Zhongnanhai often first let foreigners in on some important personnel change. This was very bad. Lo Fu said that when some guest asked a question, it would not be nice to say nothing. It was a matter of courtesy. Sometimes, what was being relayed by a guest also might not be reliable. My impression of Lo Fu was that he lived up to the image of a Communist Party member in every respect. //How could a Communist Party member of nearly 40 years like him be a spy for another country?//

All those that knew Lo Fu said that he was not the greedy type. Besides, he could make both ends meet on what he and his wife earned. The place where he lived--the New Eastern Terrace, Hong Kong--was built shortly after the war. The monthly rent was less than HK\$2,000. Lo Fu was not particular about dress, and still less about food. While he mixed with others, he never sought benefits at their expense. When a Taiwan correspondent presented him with a bottle of relatively good wine, Lo immediately made the former a gift of the same and even slightly higher value.

A leftist film studio asked Lo Fu to revise a script and later gave him a check. This check was not cashed up to Lo Fu's arrest.

I asked a good friend and colleague of Lo Fu: From all that he knew about Lo Fu in his close contact with him, was it likely that Lo Fu would take money from the Americans? The answer was: "It is unlikely that he would have done anything of the kind. Lo would never do anything unfavorable to the communist cause."

It was said that Lo Fu got only a few thousand Hong Kong dollars at a time as compensation for spying for the United States. How could there be such a poor reward in the world for an international spy? Perhaps, this was also the reason why the Chinese communists did not dare to make public the amount given as an allowance!

The verdict on Lu Fu said: "It has been found after an investigation that Lo Cheng-hsun acted as a spy for a U.S. intelligence organ several years ago, providing it with political, diplomatic, military and other important secret information about our country. He regularly received money from the U.S. intelligence organ as an allowance for spying activities."

What were those "several years ago" mentioned here after all? As the text suggested, these several years should be counted backward from now, or the

several years before 1983. This period was exactly when the "gang of four" was toppled and mainland China followed an open-door policy with the introduction of reforms. According to a bosom friend of Lo Fu's, these several years coincided with those few years when Lo Fu was in a particularly happy state of mind. How could he seek to be a spy at a time when the situation on the mainland had taken a turn for the better?

A Hong Kong newspaper commented:

"If Lo Cheng-hsun had really committed the 'above crimes' 'in light of known facts and indisputable evidence,' as the Chinese communists claimed, then this shows that the cadres assigned abroad by the Chinese communists, like those on the mainland, have already been affected by 'a crisis of confidence in three respects.' A Communist Party member with more than 30 years of united front work experience in Hong Kong like Lo Cheng-hsun should have a few years ago 'acted as a spy for a U.S. intelligence organ.' This obviously was not so simple as a matter of being shaken in the 'revolutionary stand,' or seeking 'an allowance for spying.' It was instead a final choice of a switch of allegiance, after failure to adapt to Chinese communist shifts of power and policy changes, to which he had adjusted himself for 30 years."

Years ago, such a thing happened in Britain. A high-level intellectual angrily turned a spy for the Soviet Union out of dissatisfaction with the capitalist system. But as far as the case of Lo Fu is concerned, this is quite unlikely.

Just as Lo Fu's colleagues and friends pointed out, Lo Fu's allegiance to the Communist Party was absolute.

Why should he have done such an inconceivable thing?

#### Lo Fu Might Have "Divulged Secrets"

This correspondent has also tried to pump some information out of foreign friends. The impression obtained was that Lo Fu could not possibly have been a U.S. spy. But he might have said something that he considered harmless to China in his contacts with foreign friends. He might have even said things having to do with the appraisal of a given situation, or a Chinese communist policy decision. For example, Jiang Qing was originally sentenced to death with a reprieve of 2 years. Would she be executed after that? Anyone with a smattering of knowledge about Chinese politics knew that she would not. But given a speech by Chen Yun on this matter in inner circles, if Lo Fu, when questioned, replied that she would not be executed, this meant that he was divulging something very important.

It may be remembered that Wei Jingsheng was sentenced on charges of divulging the state's military secrets. What were those "secrets" after all? These might have included even the appointment of Yang Dezhi as commander in the battle to punish Vietnam. This was originally a subject openly discussed. But it would not do if something on the matter was said to a foreigner. The verdict on Lo

Fu said that he provided important secret information for a U.S. intelligence organ, including military information. In my own opinion, this might be a game of the same kind. It may be asked how Lo Fu could have acquired military secrets.

On the evening of 19 May 1983, the newly appointed chief of the KYODO Hong Kong Bureau, Mr Sakai, gave a reception for the editors of the three Hong Kong magazines, CHISHIH NIENTAI, CHENG MING and PAI HSING, and the special official of the leading Taiwan newspaper CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO appointed to Hong Kong. When Mr Sakai raised the question of Lo Fu at the reception, the friends unanimously pointed out that the main thing was that the Chinese communists have a completely different concept of secrets from the free society. In the free society, only when one is involved in work dealing with secrets does one have the obligation to keep secrets. To the Chinese communists, anything is a secret. For example, the change involving director of the Hong Kong XINHUA News Agency Xu Jiatun had become common knowledge in Hong Kong. But if any worker of the Hong Kong XINHUA News Agency breathed a word, for that matter, before the official announcement on 19 May, then he would still have let himself in for a charge of "divulging secrets." At this point, someone said in a jocular vein: If Mr Hu Yaobang had suffered from the "Hong Kong foot disease," someone who let it out would also be "divulging secrets."

The question was whether Lo Fu had actually "received a regular allowance for spying from a U.S. intelligence organ." If he did, he was of course doomed.

#### Lo Fu's Financial Situation

As far as his friends knew, the Lo family could lead a comfortable life on their family income. Besides, Lo Fu and his wife were both industrious and thrifty. There was not the slightest need for them to seek an extra income. Lo Fu had also a large collection of paintings. Of these paintings, the set of hanging scrolls (four pieces) by Qi Baishi originally went with another four-piece set, now kept in a Boston Museum in the United States, as a set of eight pieces. In order to have "complete sets," the Americans offered HK\$1 million for Lo Fu's set. But Lo Fu did not sell his. As far as this was concerned, Lo Fu was quite well off. Of course, no wealthy people in the world would hate making more money. But Lo Fu was not the greedy type. Why should he have turned a spy just for the sake of a little extra money?

Those people against Lo Fu said that he had property in Britain. But it was found that his second son had bought a house in London on a mortgage. This is quite common in Britain and the United States, because of tax deductions. Lo Fu sold a painting by Huang BinHong for HK\$60,000, in order to pay the first installment for his son. The broker who sold the painting for him was still in Hong Kong.

It was also said in criticism that the couple took a trip to Britain. In fact, traveling abroad is a common practice in Hong Kong. Besides, Lo Fu and his wife seldom traveled. Given handy free accommodation abroad, there was no need to spend much.

It was further criticized that the Lo family had a villa in Sai Kung, Clear-water Bay. In fact, that was made available by the uncle of the wife of Lo Fu's eldest son. The uncle thought that Lo Fu needed a rest badly and put the villa at his disposal. Lo Fu went there only twice.

It seems that if the Chinese communists had doubts about Lo Fu's financial state, they could have easily found things out. Assuming that Lo Fu had some ill-gotten money, where had it gone? A very close friend of Lo Fu's and I said jokingly that only if Lo Fu had found a new love and installed her in an expensive residence, he would have needed a tidy sum behind his wife's back, drawing on a secret source to pay for a secret expense item.

//This friend said: Lo Fu was not the polygamous type. Besides, his wife knew him inside out. Those people kicking him when he was down said that he was a degenerate. They were just talking nonsense.// But Lo Fu was after all arrested and convicted.

When it came to Lo Fu's arrest, this in itself was dramatic enough.

#### Visiting Folks in Guangzhou and Taking a Baiyun Mountain Sightseeing Trip

On 26 April, 1982, Lo Fu left Hong Kong for mainland China to visit his folks. He met with his elder brother's wife and his two elder sisters. They had waited in Guilin for Lo Fu's return to see them for years, but in vain. The reason was that in the past 30-odd years, Lo Fu had returned to his hometown only thrice. Every time he went there he was in a hurry. Since he saw them briefly in the 1970's, another 10 years had passed. The more one advances in age the more one craves to see one's folks. So, in the past 2 years, a flurry of letters had blamed Lo Fu for not having kept his promise to return to Guilin. They just did not know how busy Lo Fu was in Hong Kong. Sometimes, he did not even get enough sleep.

It happened that in early 1983 the Hong Kong XINHUA News Agency planned to organize a group of reporters to visit Guilin, with Lo Fu named as its head. Lo Fu was quite ready to take advantage of this chance to see his folks. His hopes for visiting Guilin therefore rested on this group. But the Chinese communists have hitherto been known for letting things slide. The "travel of documents from hand to hand until their final approval" is common knowledge. In April 1982, the wife of Lo Fu's elder brother and his two elder sisters had become too impatient. Without seeking Lo Fu's approval, they went straight to Guangzhou. From there, they wrote to tell Lo Fu. With just a short distance away, Lo Fu just could not find an excuse to disappoint them! So 2 weeks later, he started on his trip. He arrived in Guangzhou on 26 April. The same day he had a heart-to-heart talk with his folks.

Lo Fu was born into the family of a handicraft worker in Guilin, Guangxi. His father was actually a craftsman who made articles from bamboo strips. His family was in very straitened circumstances. Lo Fu was the youngest of the children, with two sisters and one brother. He proved to be very clever from childhood. For a poor family in China to stand up, the only possible chance was through education for the children. The family therefore made many

sacrifices to keep Lo Fu in school. After graduating from higher middle school at the top of his class, Lo Fu enrolled in Guangxi University to study physics. Later, when his father died of illness, to supplement the family income, he joined the TA KUNG PAO in Guilin. He has since worked with it for 40 years. As journalists go, he is a capable newsman. As far as family is concerned, he is also a member to be proud of.

On 28 April, 1982, Lo Fu accompanied his sister-in-law and two elder sisters to visit the Baiyun Mountains in Guangzhou. They had come to this well-known scenic spot in South China 30 years ago. Almost a generation had passed. Very great changes had also taken place in the Baiyun Mountains. For the brother and sisters traveling together in their later years, the joy could be imagined. But the last thing they expected was that on 1 May, 3 days later, Lo Fu would become "captive" in Beijing. "The separation from one sent to the remotest corner of the earth is a source of eternal regret." Who could tell whether brother and sisters would meet again?

#### A Dramatic Scene

Towards the end of April, 1982, among Lo Fu's HSIN WAN PAO colleagues, the story circulated that the boss had been robbed in Guangzhou of all his traveling documents, including his hometown Traveling Certificate and Hong Kong Reentry Permit. He wanted to have a temporary Hong Kong-Macao permit prepared to allow him to come back. An editorial department reporter was to be sent to Luohu to receive him. The Hong Kong immigration office was also to be kept informed, so that he would have no trouble crossing the border.

A day later, Lo Fu again called to say that there was no need to send someone to receive him. Li Jusheng, director of the Hong Kong XINHUA News Agency, had told him to leave for Beijing to attend a meeting. He was to fly to Beijing on 1 May. Moreover, the wallet he had lost had been found by the Public Security Department. Luckily, not a single document was missing.

This showed that, before his arrest, Lo Fu did not perceive in the least that a storm lay ahead.

But later, those outsiders could not help suspecting that the recovery of the lost wallet meant that a certain party had taken "preventive measures" against Lo Fu. It was feared that on being asked to leave for Beijing, he might suddenly slip back to Hong Kong. So his documents were seized. It was also likely that they wanted to check what he had on his person. It was found that he had nothing but a few traveling documents. Moreover, Lo promised to leave for Beijing. He was therefore given back his wallet and its contents.

This seems like part of a film story. But the readers will have to stretch their imagination to guess all its meaning!

#### An Invitation to the United States Arouses Suspicions

Lo's arrest very clearly had to do with an invitation for him to visit the United States.

According to news from U.S. sources, the U.S. State Department wanted to invite Lo Fu to visit the United States in the early 1970's. The reason why he should be invited was very simple. Lo was being "praised by everyone" in news and cultural circles in Hong Kong. In an article entitled "Lo Fu As He Is and What Happens to Him" in its 16 May 1983 issue, the Hong Kong KUAI PAO said:

"A Rightist with bias against the Communist Party said that the image of the Communist Party, when 'filtered' through Lo Fu, left a much better impression on others. Some people connected with the KUOMINTANG said that not one of these working abroad for the KUOMINTANG could measure up 1/2 as well as Lo Fu."

But the turmoil of the "cultural revolution" in the 1970's had not subsided. It was not convenient for Lo Fu to leave for the United States. After Wang Kuang, chief director of the Hong Kong XINHUA News Agency, returned from the United States in 1981, the Hong Kong office of the U.S. International Communications Agency again invited Lo Fu to visit the United States. Since Wang Kuang had made his trip to the United States, Lo Fu thought that there should be no problem for him to follow suit. Therefore, he turned to the XINHUA News Agency for instructions and obtained approval. He accepted the U.S. invitation. But the work schedule was just too tight for him. He just could not find the time to make the trip. When at last he was ready for his trip, the report prepared by someone accusing him of acting in collusion with the Americans reached Beijing. The person reporting on him might very probably have slanderously accused Lo Fu of seizing this opportunity to slip away as a turncoat. This prompted the Chinese communist authorities concerned to act hastily. Just look at the later story spread by certain Leftists in Hong Kong about "Lo Fu's emigration with his whole family." This showed that the person who wanted to hurt him had spared no effort.

After 1 May 1982 Lo Fu began to be subject to the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lo Fu's friends figure that, given his 10 years' imprisonment, Lo Fu would be 72 after his release from prison. Everyone said that even if he were released ahead of time, he would not be allowed to return to Hong Kong. Someone asked me about the meaning of the wording: "Deprivation of political rights" for 3 years. Did this mean that he would only be deprived of political rights for the first 3 years and, in the next seven years, he would have his political rights restored? From my experience as a "jailbird," I answered that he was wrong. The so-called 10 years' imprisonment with the deprivation of political rights for 3 years meant that after the term was served, there would be another 3 years with the deprivation of political rights. In fact, this does not matter. As a famous saying from Stalin goes, "With the head cut off, why bother about the hair?"

CSO: 4005/865

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

MING PAO VIEWS ISSUES IN SINO-U.S. RELATIONS

HK230630 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 21 May 83 p 1

[Editorial: "New Rows in Sino-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] Beijing and Washington have formally established relations for only less than 3-1/2 years, yet the period has been intertwined with many unpleasant incidents, with one rising before the other had hardly subsided. The latest to appear is over the question of telephone equipment.

On 18 May the Belgian Foreign Ministry spokesman announced that the United States had brought to the "coordination committee" its objection to the Belgian telephone production project in China because of the "technology transfer" involved. The committee is a semiofficial organization set up by NATO countries and Japan to restrict the import to communist countries of high technological products which are of military applications. Four years ago, the American International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation's subsidiary in Belgium, the N.V. Company, began talks with China over the sale of 100,000 telephone cables to China and its plans to set up a production plant in Shanghai as a joint venture with the Chinese Postal Administration. The project involved the production of telephone cables and computer-controlled switchboards, at a total value of \$229 million. The contract was about to be signed when United States stepped in and asked the Belgians to lower the technological standards of the equipment, to reduce the memory capacity of the computers, and to enforce a stricter control on softwares. The Belgian authorities had insisted that the restrictions of the NATO committee should not be applicable to China. The Belgian Foreign Minister is flying to Washington on Friday to talk with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

There has been frequent conflicts between China and the United States in recent years, and the fundamental cause is the different stance they take, which could eventually be traced to a difference in political ideologies:

The sale of arms to Taiwan, Washington stated that its reason was the necessity to maintain peace and confidence in Taiwan. The real reason is that Beijing is a communist regime and the United States is unwilling to see the expansion of communist rule. The United States' real aim in its sale of arms to Taiwan is mainly anti-communism.

The different categories imposed on emigrants to the United States from Taiwan and from the mainland. This may be purely one of technicality and Beijing does not seem to be interested at all. The motive behind the American move is to accept more emigrants from Taiwan as possible.

The case of the Huguang Railway bonds. The United States insisted that it was the decision of an individual judge and should therefore be resolved through legal channels; the U.S. Government did not have the power to intervene. But the Chinese authorities were of the opinion that the executive and the judiciary were one and the same thing and that the so-called independence of the judiciary was only a facade.

The restrictions of Chinese textile exports to the United States. Washington maintained that the massive imports of textile products to the United States by any countries would have to be restricted and quotas given to China had far exceeded those granted to other countries. This is the only issue which does not involve political ideologies, as severe restrictions are also imposed on textile goods from Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong.

The case of political asylum for Miss Hu Na. Washington's defense was that the American Constitution was based on freedom and human rights and that almost all applicants for political asylum would be granted; the decision to approve Hu Na's application was not intended as an insult to the Chinese Government. This is, of course, related to political stance.

The sixth case was Taiwan's seat in the Asian Development Bank [ADB]. Washington's main reason seemed to be that ADB membership should not be restricted to sovereign states and that Beijing, Taipei and Hong could all be members. There was no reason to refuse Taipei.

All these conflicts, with the exception of textile quota, arose from the same fundamental difference: China is a communist regime and all communist regimes are anathema to the Reagan administration. It would be more fitting to say that the United States is "anticommunist" rather than "pro-Taiwan." In the years of the Carter administration, the United States put "anti-Soviet" on top of its strategic priority list, and China was then an ally against the Soviets. The Reagan administration has gradually changed this top priority to "anticommunism" and China, as a communist state, becomes the target to be opposed. Although China is against the Soviets and does not invade foreign countries, thus differing from the Soviets, it is, nonetheless, a communist regime all the same. If the United States does not seek ways to change this fundamental consideration in its strategy, it is not likely that Sino-American relations will turn for the better.

CSO: 4005/865

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

HONG KONG PAPER COMMENTS ON CPC, ROK RELATIONS

HK010447 Hong Kong HISANG KANG SHIH PAO in Chinese 24 May 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Can the Republic of Korea Get Any 'Real Benefit' from Beijing?"]

[Text] Since the successful seizure of a CPC civil airliner by 6 anticomunist fighters on 5 May, Shen Tu, pseudo "CAAC director" went to Seoul for negotiations, and the Korean Government returned the crew and passengers and the trident airliner to the CPC. Some Seoul officials consider that this contact between Korea and the CPC will be favorable to the improvement of the bilateral relations between the two countries, and the trip of Seoul of Shen Tu and others will bring Korea "actual benefit." Korean Foreign Minister Yi Pom Sok went even further, saying that it was hoped that the "friendly solution" of the "hijacking incident" would be favorable to a turn for the better in the relations between the two countries. Therefore, the ROK seems to have the intention of explaining this purely political incident of seeking freedom and shelter as a more complicated legal incident of "hijacking." And in consideration of the pressure from Beijing, they have taken into custody Zhuo Changren and others, the six people of lofty ideals and integrity, and no "trials" have been carried out so far. The attitude held by the ROK Government has not only attracted the concern of the ROC and the free people of China at home and abroad, but has given rise to dissatisfaction and criticism from people upholding justice from all walks of life in the ROK.

The ROK authorities cherish the hope of "improving their relationship" with the CPC, and of making use of this "dialogue" to further their contacts in the future. The reasons for this lie in subjective illusion on the one hand, and the influence of the international situation on the other, in particular the appeasement policy of the Western countries.

From the ROK's point of view, its [?danger] at present is North Korea, whose chief backer is the CPC. To alleviate the threat of North Korea to the ROK, attempts should be made to diminish Beijing's support of Pyongyang. To achieve this, it is necessary to attempt the improvement of the relationship between Seoul and Beijing. This is one of the plans of the ROK authorities. Second, guided by the concept of expanding foreign trade and finding a wider market abroad, the political, financial, and economic cigsues of the ROK have overestimated the purchasing power of mainland China just as Japan and the Western countries did, and regard the Chinese mainland as a profitable market

for foreign trade. Therefore, the ROK making use of the opportunity to seek a breakthrough in its relationship with the CPC, Zagkqiyo openly entered the mainland China market. This is the second plan of the ROK authorities.

Regarding the influence of the international situation, the slogan of "substituting antagonism with dialogue" of Nixon and Kissinger has since the early 1970's shaken the anticommunist stand of the Western world, and the containment policy of the United States has been slackened and even given up. While colluding with the CPC, Nixon even attempted to make contacts with North Korea; however, hindered by the relationship with the ROK, the form of "criss-cross recognition" was proposed. According to Kissinger, the proposition of "crisscross recognition" was to make the USSR and the CPC recognize the ROK, while the United States and Japan would recognize North Korea. This was to allow the two political bodies different in ideology and political systems to "temporarily" enter the United Nations. This would preserve the balance of the situation in Northeast Asia, relying on the mutual pin-down of the United States, the USSR, Japan and the CPC on the one hand, and create chances for "peaceful negotiations" in the solution of the conflict on the Korean Peninsula on the other. In other words, this was the proposition of "substituting antagonism with peaceful negotiation" of Nixon, Kissinger and their like, to set up an "experimental area."

Under the influence of the aforesaid subjective and objective factors, the ROK has, dating back to the time Pak Chung-hee, already made known its open door policy in the hope of establishing relations with countries of the Third World, including communist regimes. And the criticism against the CPC regime has been turned down. At the same time, the ROK has put out feelers toward North Korea. Since the beginning of the 1980's, and since President Chon Tu-hwan took power, this "open door" policy has continued, and the approach of the CPC has become its important target.

Therefore, before the incident of the seizure of the CPC civil airliner occurred, and before the trip to Seoul of the CPC Director of the CAAC Shen Tu, there have been a series of contacts between Seoul and Beiping. As indicated by materials concerned, when the "International Civil Aviation Organization" met in Singapore some time ago, the ROK gave consent for an airliner flying from Tokyo to Shanghai to cross ROK's "aviation intelligence area." This was a "friendly" expression toward the CPC. And in the "Asian Broadcasting Corporation," organized by the ROK, Japan, Hong Kong, Australia and New Zealand, under the agreement of exchanging [words indistinct] items, CPC TV programmes may be relayed in the ROK. And it is said that since 1980, 23 people of the ROK have visited the CPC in succession, while 11 people from the CPC have visited South Korea. It will not be difficult to understand the attitude of the ROK in handling the CPC civil airliner and the special "courteous treatment" of Shen Tu.

However, though the waterside flower pines for her lover, while the heartless brook babbles on. The reason why the CPC sent Shen Tu to the ROK was out of fear that the 90-odd passengers (among them were high ranking cadres, too) would continue to seek political asylum and ask to be sent to Taiwan; this would make the CPC lose face. The CPC was compelled to make such a stupid

move, but it was not its intention to approach the ROK. As indicated by a special contribution by AFP on 22 May, that a Western diplomat in "Beijing" who would not make his name known, said "South Korea has exaggerated the significance of this incident...all signs have shown that Shen Tu's trip to South Korea has not changed the basic stand of the CPC on the Korean issue."

Therefore, upon Shen Tu's return to Beiping, the CPC made an immediate statement that if war should break out on the Korean Peninsula, the CPC could resolutely support North Korea. On 22 May, the pseudo "Foreign Minister" Wu Xueqian was sent to Pyongyang to make explanation to Kim Il-song, ensuring that the CPC could never change its policy on the ROK. It was reported by Pyongyang Radio on 21 May that Wu Xueqian had reaffirmed this by saying, "Beijing will resolutely support the DPRK in her efforts toward the peaceful reunification of Korea, and in opposition to the plot of establishing two Koreas." This shows that the CPC has all along been the chief backer of North Korea, and of Kim Il-song's plan of reunifying the Korean Peninsula. Otherwise, North Korea will fall to the USSR. To hold North Korea in its grip, the CPC has paid the price of a lot of money, goods and materials, and military equipment. Will the Deng-Hu clique sacrifice all this, and run counter to the basic stand of the communist bloc, to give up North Korea and make further contacts with South Korea?

It should be pointed out that the spirit of the ROK in founding the nation is the spirit of anticommunism. The foundation of the influence and reputation of President Chon Tu-hwan is laid on the fundamental principle of anti-communism. If the anticommunist stand is to be slackened or changed, and the historical tragedy resulting from the war created by the CPC in Korea is to be forgotten, and the enemy is to be regarded as friends, then the spirit that arms the ROK will be dismantled, and the reputation of the ROK in the free world will suffer unfavorable effects.

It should also be noted that the present attitude of the ROK toward the CPC has obviously been led astray by Japan. Anyway, Japan has an axe to grind. While the ROK was intoxicated with approaching the CPC, Japan promptly received the representatives of North Korea officially, who attended the "conference of specialists of international law" in Tokyo, regardless of the confrontation of the ROK. Is this "real benefit" or a "real lesson"?

CSO: 4005/865

HONG KONG DELEGATION LEADER DISCUSSES PRC TALKS

HK230035 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 23 May 83 p 1

[Article by James Tang: "Allen Lee Tells Beijing Locals-in-Charge System Won't Work"]

[Text] The idea of an administration run by Hong Kong people, as suggested by Beijing officials for the time when China regains sovereignty over Hong Kong, won't work--the same Beijing officials have been told.

Returning from their week-long visit to the Chinese capital where they met officials to discuss the 1997 question, a group of Hong Kong Chinese led by Mr Allen Lee, spoke of a "cordial" and "a frank exchange" of views there.

At the meeting with the media after their return yesterday, Mr Lee read out a prepared statement, giving the gist of their deliberations in Beijing. But they would not answer questions.

Mr Lee said they had criticised the concept of Hong Kong people running the administration as quite unworkable--"an untried formula," Mr Lee said.

The Legislative Council member said that although many people in Hong Kong believed the "formula" would work, the group felt that it would "upset the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong." He didn't say what the alternative could be.

Mr Lee said: "This will just be an experiment.... Putting a capitalist system to a socialist system will be a basic contradiction...."

The Hong Kong group, Mr Lee said, told the Chinese of a "confidence crisis." They told Beijing that the present system should be maintained "before a solution on how to maintain the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong is found."

Mr Lee said he told the Chinese that the current crisis of confidence "has been intensifying" because people here believed that "there is a deadlock in the Sino-British talks."

The crisis is manifested in the continuing weakness of the local currency, the wait-and-see attitude of investors, "as well as the outflow of managerial talent."

"Some managerial talent have already left, and some are in the process of leaving, or have contingent [as published] plans," Mr Lee said.

"We respect China's sovereignty over Hong Kong, and all the parties involved agreed that prosperity and stability must be maintained.... How that should be done is between the two governments; and until such a solution is found, the present system should be maintained," Mr Lee said.

The Hong Kong group included Mr Stephen Cheong, Mrs Selina Liang Chow (who, with Mr Lee are Legislative Council members), Dr Philip C. Kwok, head of the Wing on Group, his brother Mr Albert Kwok, head of Wing on Bank, and Mr Martin Lee, a barrister.

They met two vice-chairmen of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, Deng Yingchao; and Xi Zhongxun; and the director of the United Front Work Department, Yang Jingren.

Mr Lee reported the Chinese as having told the Hong Kong group that while they (the group) were expressing their own views, the Chinese represented their government and were speaking on its behalf.

Mr Lee said that Xi told the Hong Kong group that China would handle the problem of Hong Kong with the British "carefully."

Xi is reported by the group to have said that "China will work towards resolving the Hong Kong problem through peaceful negotiations with the British--and a satisfactory solution with honour to both sides...."

Mr Lee reported that atmosphere of the meetings in Beijing was "cordial and there were free and open exchanges of views....".

"Mr Xi said he would like to see more such exchange of views," Mr Lee said.

The group said they believed they had achieved their objectives "and the Chinese leaders listened to our views with interest.... They said they would consider the points put forward by our group," Mr Lee said.

While declining to go further than the group's prepared statement, or to answer questions, Mr Lee said that they might later disclose details of their discussions with the Chinese leaders.

He also said that the group may "consider" letting the Hong Kong Government have a full report of the group's meeting in Beijing.

CSO: 4000/145

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

BUSINESS GROUP RELEASES REPORT ON 1997

HK260050 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 26 May 83 p 1

[Text] A report released yesterday by a local business group endorsed Beijing's proposal that Hong Kong would be "self-administered" and retain its unique economic system when China regains sovereignty.

The report, funded by 22 noted organisations in Hong Kong--both Chinese and foreign--was prepared by SRI International, a California-based nonprofit organisation which was paid U.S. \$200,000 to prepare the 56-page document.

Titled the Hong Kong Report, it said a solution to the "1997 question" was vital to the colony's continued prosperity.

"From Hong Kong's point of view, the obviously preferable solution--lacking the possibility of a continued status quo--would be a promise of self-administration and preservation of the present socio-economic system.

"If all British regulations effective at the termination of British rule continued in force (at least for a specified period of time), and importantly that the Hong Kong dollar will continue to enjoy its fully convertible status, then the damage of a political change would be minimised," it said.

However, SRI Director H. E. Robinson warned that prolongation of the uncertainty surrounding Hong Kong's political future could drive investors and businessmen elsewhere.

"If something were to happen to Hong Kong," he said, "you'd have to have another Hong Kong." Mr. Robinson said he had met about 150 middle-class Hong Kong people before compiling the report and that it would be translated into Chinese before being sent to China for reference.

The director of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, Jimmy McGregor, was quick to disavow the report's conclusion as representing his organization's views. He said he personally favoured continued British rule.

However, he agreed that the question of sovereignty has been settled in China's favour.

CSO: 4000/145

GROUP'S 'SUBMISSION' ON FUTURE RELEASED

HK090230 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 9 Jun 83 p 14

[Text] Public confidence in Hong Kong will immediately nosedive and the territory will lose its prosperity in a very short time if China firmly intends to regain administrative control over it in 1997.

This statement is in the written submission handed to a vice-chairman of China's Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Mr Xi Zhongxun, by a delegation of 12 local professionals last month.

The full text of this submission by the group, whose members all received their higher education abroad, was released yesterday.

People are being led to believe that China's plan for Hong Kong is for administration by local people, it states.

"We believe that this has given rise to a renewed loss of confidence.

"If this lack of confidence persists, it will have the most serious repercussions for Hong Kong both economically and socially.

"The prosperity of Hong Kong will be severely affected if not destroyed and recovery will be difficult if not impossible," according to the submission.

The group, led by an unofficial legislative councillor, Mr Allen Lee, returned on 22 May after a six-day visit to Beijing to voice their opinions on the future of Hong Kong.

They told Chinese leaders that the proposal for self-government for Hong Kong would upset the territory's prosperity and stability.

The group brought back reassurances from China that it will handle the issue of Hong Kong's future with great care and will not upset its prosperity and stability.

It was learned yesterday the group plans to send a copy of its submission to Mr Xi to the British Prime Minister.

The submission states that the lack of confidence is manifested in two out-flows--those of capital and professional managerial manpower.

There has been some speculation in Hong Kong since September that China would take back Hong Kong before 1997--instilling a sense of insecurity among the majority of professionals and executives here, it states.

Many of them fear that Hong Kong under Chinese rule will not be the Hong Kong they know, or the Hong Kong they wish to live in, it states.

There are a great number of people who are resigned to the fact that China will take back Hong Kong in 1997.

"But only some are satisfied with the viability of the suggested 'self-administration' formula.

"The professionals and executives in Hong Kong are by no means happy with this suggested solution" and this sector is essential to the success of Hong Kong, the submission states.

Chinese leaders have given assurances that there will be no future change in China reminiscent of the rule by the gang of four.

"Whereas no one doubts their sincerity or integrity, we must respectfully point out that the track record of China in the last decade or two is not such as would readily generate confidence in the people of Hong Kong who have been following repeated political changes in China with concern, and sometimes, alarm."

The views of some professionals and executives who have reacted positively should be treated with caution as their agreement to the suggested solution could have been because they considered it "futile to express their true views."

This is because they are under the impression that the self-administration solution is non-negotiable as far as China is concerned, according to the submission.

"Indeed, many of these people have already made contingency plans for themselves and their families to leave Hong Kong," it states.

The brain-drain which has already started and is unlikely to stop unless something "very drastic" happens in the very near future is an important factor affecting Hong Kong's future prosperity and stability, it states.

It has become clear the Sino-British talks on Hong Kong's future have hardly begun and that there is unlikely to be any progress in the near future, it states.

"Those people of Hong Kong who are not rich enough or otherwise qualified to emigrate elsewhere by and large accept the suggested proposal, perhaps not because they think it would work but because they have no alternative.

"But those people in Hong Kong who are capable of leaving Hong Kong and set up their homes in other parts of the world where they can continue to enjoy the same freedoms are already looking elsewhere for their future homes.

"We have no wish to sound alarmist or to exaggerate but are trying to be as objective as possible," the group states in the submission.

Although not many of this sector have left Hong Kong yet, what is of concern is that many have made arrangements ensuring they can leave and live abroad if Hong Kong goes downhill any further, it states.

"Apart from emigration, there are many people who have 'bought' passports of other countries to ensure that they can leave Hong Kong. The most 'popular' country for this is the Dominican Republic.

"Some people say that the poor state of Hong Kong economy and the weakness of the Hong Kong dollar is the result of the worldwide recession.

"We do not share this view. We believe that this political uncertainty is also the cause of the emigration of professionals and executives," the submission goes on.

The group states it believes that very few people, if any, have raised this matter with the Chinese Government, partly for fear of being called "traitors."

"We believe the truth has to be told now.

"We respect your (China's) stance over the issue of sovereignty of Hong Kong. Indeed, we are all Chinese both by race and in heart.

"But we also appreciate that it is of paramount importance to all concerned to preserve the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong," it states.

On the outflow of capital, the group states it is not suggesting that the majority of businessmen are closing down their businesses to start overseas, although some have done so.

But businessmen were reluctant to increase their stake in Hong Kong by making new investments or expanding their present investments.

"Frightened businessmen as well as professionals and executives in the upper income brackets are taking steps to ensure that they have a significant proportion of their assets abroad if they have not already done so.

"Foreign countries have taken full advantage of this lack of confidence and are doing their utmost to attract Hong Kong money to their countries; and in some countries, even to the extent of changing immigration laws to admit the rich or professionally qualified people from Hong Kong."

The submission states it leaves aside the very rich tycoons who wish their great wealth can go anywhere they like at any time.

An introduction to the submission states that the decision to make it public has been endorsed by Mr Xi.

At a press conference held after the group returned from China, they stated that until a solution was found through negotiations, the present system should be maintained.

Other members in the group, who call themselves the Young Professional Group, include two other unofficial legislative councillors, Mr Stephen Cheong and Mrs Selina Chow; the former chairman of the Bar Association, Mr Marine Lee QC, and the chairman of the Wing on Group, Dr Philip Kwok.

CSO: 4000/145

PAPER ON THATCHER VICTORY, 1997 ISSUE

HK110422 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 11 Jun 83 p 5

[Editorial: "Likely Effects of 'Maggie's Landslide'"]

[Excerpts] Mrs Thatcher's landslide victory at the polls must be regarded as the least surprising election result of this generation. The question has long appeared to be, not who would win, but merely by how much Mrs Thatcher would outscore her rivals.

In the Conservative Party, meanwhile, speculation is rife about which Tory moderates--or "wets"--will be sent packing by the Iron Lady.

Noting that Foreign Secretary Francis Pym may be among departing "wets," London newsman Patrick Keatley indicated on Hong Kong television that Mr Pym was largely responsible for Mrs Thatcher's "u-turn" on the question of tuition fees for overseas students in Britain. It was announced last month that Hong Kong and Britain have agreed on a multi-million-dollar fund to subsidise our students in HK [as published].

Mr Keatley, diplomatic correspondent for the GUARDIAN newspaper, hinted that Sir Geoffrey Howe, whom he described as "a good friend of Hong Kong," may succeed Mr Pym.

The man from the GUARDIAN, who was taking part (by satellite) in an RTHK [Radio-Television Hong Kong] post-election panel discussion, also referred to the 1997 question. He described Mrs Thatcher as "a person with authority who will not put up with any nonsense and will bargain hard."

She is even said to be considering standing for a third term in the late 1980's. That could possibly keep her in Downing Street until the 1990's.

But however long Mrs Thatcher remains in power, she will have to realise that China is not likely to be awed, especially on the sovereignty issue. Whatever form of administration continues in Hong Kong after 1997, it won't be under her flag.

One issue that was not mentioned during the RTHK programme was the question of capital punishment.

Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society Chairman Frederick Yu recently called for the restoration of the death penalty in Hong Kong. The call came after five murders in a week and followed the news that Mrs Thatcher favours the return of hanging in Britain.

The House of Commons last year overwhelmingly rejected a move to bring back the rope after 17 years of abolition, although Mrs Thatcher voted in favour. This negative vote might be overturned by the new "Thatcherite" majority.

Parliamentary opinion in Britain has long been cited by the Hong Kong Government as a reason for continuing to ban the death penalty here despite the rising crime rate.

There certainly exists now an increasing number of Hong Kong citizens who are beginning to dread the city streets at certain hours and in certain areas. And in their fear they may feel deprived of elementary rights.

There may also be a growing sympathy, therefore, for that awesome question that has been asked from time to time: Is a society redeemed if it provides massive safeguards for accused persons but fails to afford elementary protection for its decent, law-abiding citizens?

That burning question may be raised again here in the wake of the "Maggie's landslide."

CSO: 4000/145

PRC MUST 'REASSURE' OF MINIMAL CHANGES

HK230054 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 23 May 83 p 2

[Editorial: "No Reason for Pessimism"]

[Text] If there is one general understanding that has emerged during the eight months since the visit of Mrs Margaret Thatcher to Beijing and the initial discussions on Hong Kong's future, it is that there are a great many problems that cannot easily be resolved. The prolonged silence, the lack of substantive discussions, the audible and tortuous thinking process that has been going on in Beijing all point to the fact that it may be years rather than months before an agreement emerges that proves acceptable to all concerned.

The statements by the Governor, Sir Edward Youde, and the reported speech by Lord MacLehose in London last week merely confirm this understanding. If Sir Edward's comments take a more optimistic view there is no reason to see Lord MacLehose's as anything but realistic.

The assurance that the talks on Hong Kong's future are "moving in the right direction" is a clear statement of fact; this simply means that both sides are committed to getting the best deal possible for themselves and in the process for the people of Hong Kong.

China by now realises that however much stress it gives to regaining sovereignty it must retain the strongest economic features of a free enterprise society. To do this it needs to reassure both the local and international community that there will be minimal changes in Hong Kong.

As Lord MacLehose remarked, the problem will be to convince overseas investors that there will be a credible administration able to provide the stability and confidence to underpin economic progress.

The present thinking in China seems to be that with changes of a cosmetic nature, this can be assured. However, convincing not just those already established in Hong Kong but a new generation of international investors that this territory can continue to thrive will be the supreme test. For not only will this determine whether the remarkable achievements in the past 38 years

can be sustained, but it will play a large part in convincing skilled and talented people to continue living in Hong Kong.

China needs no reminding of the consequences of failure. Vietnam is just a more recent example of a country that is steadily being drained of people at all levels who are disillusioned with socialist change and revolution. And while liberalisation and modernisation have done much to reform the doctrinaire communism of China in the early years of the People's Republic, it must be said that Hong Kong would swiftly wither if it were to be absorbed into the fabric of the mainland economy.

Basically we thrive because the government has given free rein to private enterprise with the minimum of controls and the assurance of stability and continuity, and none can predict what will happen when that is removed. The recent weakness of the Hong Kong dollar may have more to do with the negative real interest rate and other technical factors than political considerations, but it would be foolish to deny that the latter plays no part in it; the movement of investments to other countries is a telling reflection of the fears of local people over the future.

Somehow they have to be convinced that the future is good enough and dependable enough to bring back those funds to invest in Hong Kong's industry, commerce, property and way of life. Only then will the dollar recover to its old levels and only then can the governments of Britain, Hong Kong and China be convinced that there is a good long-term future for the territory.

CSO: 4000/145

THATCHER VICTORY 'WELL-RECEIVED'

HK110348 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 11 Jun 83 p 1

[Text] The British Conservative Party's landslide victory was well-received in Hong Kong yesterday.

Many believe another five years with Mrs Margaret Thatcher at the helm will provide the necessary continuity in the critical Sino-British talks.

They also believe the Conservatives, whose policies are more geared towards Hong Kong's economic aspirations, would be helpful on the road to recovery.

UMELCO [Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council], represented by senior members Sir Sze-yuen Chung and Mr Roger Lobo, sent a telegram to congratulate Mrs Thatcher shortly after the election result was confirmed.

"We (all Unofficial members) look forward to your continued distinguished leadership from the Office of Prime Minister and are confident that the future of Hong Kong could not rest in better hands," the telegram said.

A UMELCO spokesman also said in a statement that it was vitally important that "the negotiations about our future are conducted by a strong UK Government."

The spokesman praised Mrs Thatcher's "deep appreciation of our situation.... She had committed her government to finding a satisfactory solution" for the future of Hong Kong.

The executive director of the HK General Chamber of Commerce, Mr Jimmy MacGregor, said the continuity of government would provide a strong base for Sino-British discussions.

And he said Mrs Thatcher's economic policies, strongly against restrictions of trade, would support Hong Kong in the field of international commerce.

Hong Kong would perform an extremely important role as a link for British expansion in trade with Asia, Mr MacGregor said.

He believed the overwhelming support for the Tories paved the way for a breakthrough in productivity and that unemployment would be reduced.

Mr Yeung Sum, the vice chairman of Meeting Point--a young vocal group concerned with the 1997 issue--said this was the first time people in Hong Kong had been so concerned about a British election, simply because their future was at stake.

Mr Yeung hoped Mrs Thatcher's government would adopt a pragmatic approach in the negotiations and that it would help Hong Kong smoothly towards self-administration.

A Heung Yee Kuk executive member, Mr Donald Yap, was also a happy man.

A new government would prolong the 1997 jitters, he said.

"At least the Chinese now know whom they are dealing with."

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

TAIWANESE SINGER SEEKS 'NEW DIRECTION' IN PRC

HK060106 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 6 Jun 83 p 12

[Text] Seemingly oblivious to the political implications, a well-known Taiwanese folk singer on Saturday flew from Hong Kong to Beijing in search of "a new direction in music."

Hau Tak-kin rose to prominence through his composition "Descendants of the Dragon," a song popular in Hong Kong as well as on both sides of the Taiwan Strait for its "subtle patriotism and strong admiration of the motherland."

Before Hau boarded his plane, he reportedly said that the descendants of the dragon should of course go back to its origins.

A source contacted last night said that Hau's friends knew he had always longed to go to China.

"He said he wanted to find a new direction in folk song--an amalgamation of modern music and traditional culture," the source said.

The source noted that the singer appeared not to be worried about the political implications of his action.

"In fact, he said that if he wrote any new songs in China, he hoped they could be heard in Taiwan as well."

The Taiwan authorities, as well as Hau's family in Kaohsiung, were apparently unaware of the singer's intentions when he left for Hong Kong two weeks ago for the production of his new album, the source said.

It is not known whether any arrangements have been made for Hau to study music in China.

Nor is it known how long the singer will stay in China, or whether he will return to Taiwan after completing his studies.

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COLUMNIST URGES GOVERNMENT TO ALLAY FEARS

HK030841 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 2 Jun 83 p 2

[*"The Margaret Ng Column": "Restoring Confidence Is the Only Cure for the Present Crisis--and Our Fears"*]

[Text] If you did not read a letter to the editor signed Cyrus S. C. Fung published in the SCM POST's 26 May issue, I suggest you do so as soon as you can.

You will find much in this letter, headlined "*'Don't Worry--That's the Message,'*" to sympathise with, as a bill of fare of the woes Hong Kong people have been experiencing recently.

Cyrus S. C. Fung justifiably feels frustrated that in the face of so much obviously worrying problems, all the officials of the Hong Kong Government and community leaders, including the governor, can think of saying is "*'don't worry,'* *"have confidence,"* *"we'll be OK."*

How can we not worry?

Can we be expected to have confidence just because we are told to?

There is nothing more annoying to be told that everything is going to be all right when you know jolly well it is not and no one has any good solution in sight--or, if the government has the solution, it is not telling us.

Such feelings are widespread nowadays and will become increasingly bitter if things do not improve soon.

Yet one question one must ask at this point, when public pressure mounts on the government to do something, is--how much can we expect the Hong Kong Government to do about this present crisis?

What action can we expect of the government at this point, which will effectively mitigate our hardship and worry?

Highest on the list of worries because it is most recent and most capable of tension building, is the weakness of the Hong Kong dollar.

Directly, the impact is on the trade and industry sector and from hence on the entire economy, threatening to stay the pace of its recovery by cancelling out much of the benefits of increased overseas orders with the steep increase in the cost of imported raw materials.

But the even more devastating impact is psychological.

The strength or weakness of the local currency is the most visible indicator of the confidence of investors as well as citizens of Hong Kong.

Gloom deepens as the Hong Kong dollar weakens and the worst is everybody feels sure the worst hasn't happened yet.

Panic is round the corner, making people exclaim: "Oh God, nothing will be left of Hong Kong in the twinkling of an eye."

So daily we see community and business leaders, organisations and individuals urging the government to do something to save the Hong Kong dollar.

Yet if the reason for the dollar's rapid decline is the snowball effect of some people's cast of the vote of nonconfidence on Hong Kong and people seem to agree nonconfidence is at least three quarters of the thing, then it would seem the cure is in restoring that confidence.

Everything else is peripheral.

The financial action the government can take the government seems to have tried, except for one.

It has tried to intervene with the exchange fund, selling massive amounts of United States dollars at the height of market demand in the attempt to ease demand somewhat and hence bring down the rates.

Then again with raising interest rates.

The one percent increase in interest rates in April, followed by a further two percent increase two weeks ago, announced by the Hong Kong Association of Banks, were both motivated by the deterioration of the Hong Kong dollar.

However, while these increases may have made the fall of the Hong Kong dollar more gradual, they certainly did not result in turning back the tide.

Meantime, the manufacturing and trade sectors, the property sector and citizens paying their mortgages, have been voicing their hardship under this increased burden.

The next thing the government can do is to remove the withholding tax on interests earned on local currency deposits.

As undoubtedly retaining a 10 percent tax on local currency deposits while exempting foreign currency deposits from taxation, among other things, has

put the local currency at a disadvantage, it is hoped the removal of this difference will do something towards redressing the balance.

The government has so far rejected this proposal, on account of a HK\$620 million loss in revenue this would incur and also for unspecified "technical reasons."

Nobody can judge exactly how effective this measure is going to be and there are those who are skeptical of a significant improvement of the Hong Kong dollar's strength in the present situation.

However, in spite of the denial by the general manager of the Hong Kong branch of the Bank of China that the present crisis is because of political uncertainty about Hong Kong and his emphatic assertion the cure lies in stamping out opportunistic speculation and the removal of the withholding tax on the local currency, I think most people's beliefs lie in the other direction.

Namely, that more than anything else, it is the restoration of confidence with a safe political future that will do the trick.

If this is the case, then our fortune is in the hands of China, not in the hands of the Hong Kong Government, whatever the government, or governments, would have us believe.

Likewise the stagnation in the property market.

First let me confess my antipathy to the Save the Property Market Campaign.

Not so many years ago, when we laboured under the yoke of exorbitant property prices and urged the government to "do something," we received the cool response that we must wait for [words indistinct] to regulate prices.

And surely when the market was saturated prices will come down.

Yet now, when prices have finally come down--more because of the general economic slump further reducing people's purchasing power, than to an over-supply of reasonably priced residential flats, the government is trying all sorts of ways to boost property again, by purchasing flats for civil servants, by removing rent control, by making things as attractive and easy to the investors in property as possible.

The reason is obvious.

Different sectors of our economy have become so inter-dependent the government cannot afford to leave any sector which involves a lot of money to really face ruin, market forces or no market forces.

Yet in spite of government attempts, including the recently announced further easing of rent control, what will really help the property sector is again something else.

The prices of property have now come down to a level that a lot of people who have been longing to buy their own flats to live in would be able and willing to do so now, were they not deterred by their deep worry about Hong Kong's political future.

It is of course true that of these would-be home owners many are of modest incomes, with little likelihood of being able to leave Hong Kong, whatever happens next.

So they are not thinking of hoarding their savings to invest in greener pastures abroad.

However, people buy property only when they feel encouraged about the future, when they are eager to stay here, when they think in doing so they will be undergoing temporary hardship for the greater future comfort of their children.

Or when they are sufficiently desperate to feel defiant.

For that, I think prices have to come down quite a lot more.

The Hong Kong Government can try all it can to devise ways which will brighten the hopes of the property sector by dampening the spirit of the tenants and the return for all its efforts is minimal.

Yet if China were to announce a good solution to our future tomorrow, I doubt if many flats would stand empty within a very short time.

The ineffectuality of our government is becoming daily more apparent, on external as well as internal matters.

Externally, probably it is an ineffectuality it cannot help.

It remains a fact that, no matter what assurances it chooses to give to Hong Kong people, people remain convinced we are at the mercy of China.

And the harder China emphasises this fact, the greater the increase is felt.

No doubt China has been making it painfully obvious the Hong Kong Government has no place in negotiating our future.

Even on the matter of consulting our wishes, in which Britain has accepted it has a role, China has always maintained that China, rather than the Hong Kong Government has the mandate to represent us.

The recent streams of influential Hong Kong people invited to visit Peking conspicuously demonstrates this direct access to local opinion.

If it now seems people in Hong Kong are bypassing the government, it is because earlier on, when we must needed leadership and support the government let us down.

Perhaps a better job of public relations done earlier would have mitigated this disappointment and let it be said plainly, contempt.

But that job was not done.

The government's public relations department, if one existed then, let the government down in the first place.

By now it is too late.

Little surprise that the governor's television interview did little towards repairing the damage.

However, for gaining credibility there is no substitute for true competence and achievement.

No public relations could have saved the loss of credibility of the government as it blunders and flounders along in trying to cope with our internal affairs, in dealing with transport problems, in handling finance, in the area of medical and health services.

We have been told we have to tighten our belts because we are hit by the tail of a worldwide recession through no fault of our own (i.e., of our government).

We have also been told, repeatedly, emphatically and at great length, that Hong Kong being what it is, is highly vulnerable to "external factors" such as a world recession and that, not only is this not the government's fault, but also there is nothing the government can do about it.

If we can't grin and bear it, well, grimace, but bear it.

There is, of course, truth in the confession the government is not omnipotent.

However, I do not think people really demand omnipotence.

They merely want better long term planning and foresight that would cushion such blows, instead of being pushed out to bear the brunt whenever bad times strike.

This is not too much to ask..

On the recession are blamed many things.

To be sure, blunders are more easily covered up in a growth period, or are more readily tolerated when everyone is busy with their own business expansions, their own spending sprees aimed at outracing inflation.

In an economic stagnation there are few means for government departments to hide their mistakes; at the same time the public, exposed to hardship and economic strain, is less tolerant of mistakes.

Perhaps our government has not deteriorated--the same standard has been maintained, only recession has dispelled the clouds that masked that standard.

So, Cyrus S. C. Fung, wherever you are, do not blame your governor for everything, it is his outfit more than him; blame him just for tolerating that outfit, for not making the outfit work in spite of itself.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

BRIEFS

CHENGDU CPC COMMITTEE REORGANIZED--After the State Council approved the combination of Chengdu City, Sichuan Province with neighboring Wenjiang Prefecture and the adoption of the system of subordinating counties under the leadership of a city, the Chengdu City CPC Committee's leading body was reorganized. Recently, the Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee approved the new Standing Committee of the Chengdu City CPC Committee, with Wu Xihai being named secretary of the city party committee. Deputy secretaries are Hu Maozhou, Gao Weilong, and Gong Dulun. There are 15 members, including the secretary and deputy secretaries, in the new standing committee. [Text] [Report: "Reshuffle of Chengdu CPC Committee; Wu Xihai Acts as Secretary"] [HK310959 Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 28 May 83 p 5]

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END